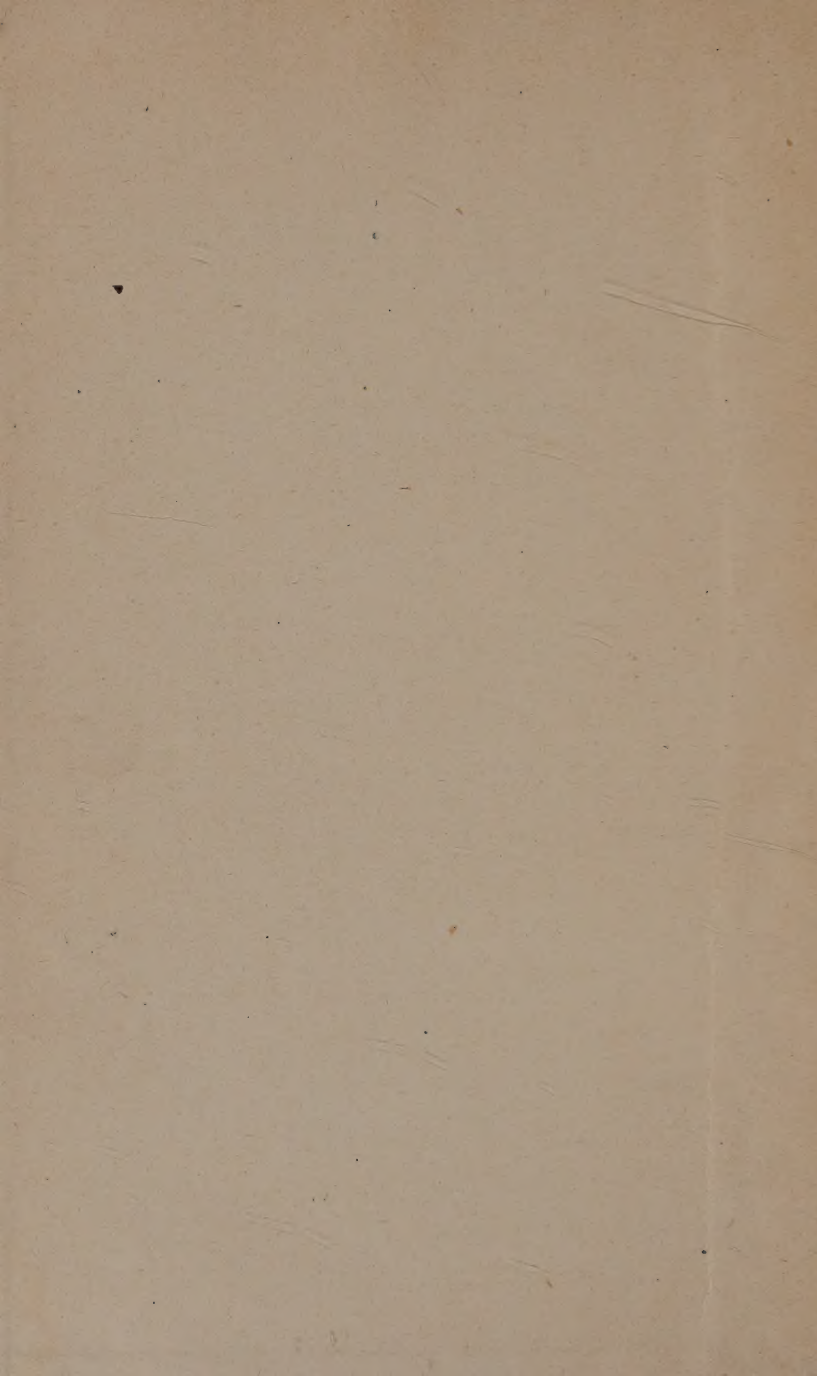

THE PASSING
OF CAPITALISM
BY ISADOR LADOFF





THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM,

AND

The Mission of Socialism.

BY

ISADOR LADOFF,

Author of "My Exile to Siberia."



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I. THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM AND THE MISSION OF SOCIALISM.

Why does capitalism flourish in our midst like a venomous fungoid? Why did the greatest achievements of the human genius in the conquest of dead matter result in the actual return to barbarism? Simply because our philosophy of life is behind our progress in the domain of purely material or industrial activity. Simply because the modern methods of production and distribution of wealth are far more advanced than our ideals and conceptions about right and wrong. Our methods of economic activity are incorporating (although incompletely) the progressive principle of socialization, while our philosophy of life, our moral ideals, remain still individualistic or anarchistic.

In this incongruity, in this contradiction between our conceptions of human inter-relations on one hand and actual material conditions on the other, is concealed the center of gravity of all social problems of the day. This incongruity and contradiction is felt instinctively by everybody. Very few however have a clear vision of the hidden causes of these phenomena. Deep is the general unrest, broad is the general nervousness of the people, obvious are the symptoms of our social abnormalities, absurdities and crimes, but very few penetrate beneath the mere surface of things.

Dissatisfaction permeates every class of the people, and many are the remedies proposed and advocated by all kinds of so-called reformers whose name is legion. The middle class "reformers" of the democratic-populistic stamp, those blind leaders of the blind, preach reaction, return to semi-medieval individualism, as a means of escaping the perplexities of our modern industrial conditions. Their watchword is: "Backward, backward, Don Rodrigo!" Another variety of half-hearted, one-idea reformers try to concentrate all

their attention on some single panacea, bound to save humanity in twenty-four hours after its inauguration. Such are the prohibitionists, single-taxers etc. All these would-be saviors of humanity lack historic sense and philosophic training of mind. They are delightfully puerile in their utopian faith in the miraculous power of legislation on paper, and do not see the forest, because stubbornly insisting on looking at one tree only. They imagine themselves to be Joshuas, commanding the sun of industrial evolution to stop at the Ajalon of dwarfed capitalism.

Socialism has another more sensible and cheering message for humanity. Its watchword is "Forward! Forward!" It recognizes the absurdity of all the attempts to turn the wheel of historical development backward, it considers as insane the advice to undo all the marvelous achievements of science applied to arts. It is primarily an educational movement. Its task consists in teaching people to conform their philosophy of life, their social ideals and moral principles to the new industrial conditions.

The economic structure of our modern society is clearly drifting towards the socialization of industry, and Socialism is preparing the people for this revolutionary change. The time is near when the tools of production and raw material will be turned over to the people engaged in production, when production will be carried on, not for profit, but for consumption, when socialized production will be carried on by society in the interest of society; in short, when society at large will be the master of its own economic destiny. Such a revolution in economic life demands a radical revision and readjustment of our moral conceptions; it demands a clear vision of the drift of our time and a great deal of enthusiasm in the cause of human welfare. This clearness of vision, this enthusiasm and the gospel of a new system of ethics Socialism brings to the people.

The passing capitalistic era with its profit system, with its zoological system of competition, with its eternal fluctuations between supply and demand, with its reckless speculation in human sweat and blood, with its brutal degradation of manhood and womanhood, with its flagrant injustice and absurdities, did not fall from heaven, (or rather, rise from hell) into a community of innocent and reasoning beings. Capitalism is the product of our own irrationality and perverted

sense of right and wrong. Capitalism is passing in the measure that we are outgrowing it morally and mentally. The mission of Socialism is to help and hasten our mental and moral growth into a higher, better, nobler social system. It can do this because it stands on firm historical ground and takes up the work just where it was left by the middle class French Revolution. Time has proved the futility of political, without economic, freedom and equality. Events have proved that freedom and equality in the purely political sense of these terms are mere worthless abstractions, a snare and delusion for the proletarian. Socialism demands economic democracy, economic liberty and equality as the only real democracy, liberty and equality worth striving for.

"Well, all that is certainly very nice and sounds well; but is it possible to change human nature so as to make men live like loving brothers?" is the usual sceptical objection of wise practical men to all Socialistic arguments. This objection is by no means new. The wise and practical man-eater certainly did object in the same way to the radical reformer who first suggested that to enslave prisoners of war would be preferable to eating them. "It would indeed be very nice, but our fathers and forefathers ate their prisoners of war. You cannot change human nature." And yet centuries passed, and slavery formed the under structure of great civilizations, like those of the Hellenic and Roman empires. The wise slave-owner argued in the same way with the abolitionist, and yet the shackles fell from the limbs of a race whose only crime consisted in the pigment of its skin. Is it necessary to meet the objection of our wise and practical anti-socialists? It would be too tedious.

The middle class, the most typical representatives of which are the capitalists, was not always as conservative, nay, sometimes reactionary, as it appears at present: far otherwise. The absolute power of the kings and emperors of Europe, owing to which the nobility and clergy occupied the most privileged position, was a thorn in the flesh of the middle class. The middle class was the carrier of the noble ideals of (political) freedom, equality and (do not laugh, dear reader) brotherhood. At the time of the French Revolution, it represented the advance guard of humanity. It fought nobly and conquered with the aid of proletarian blood, of course. This accomplished, the middle class hastened to

forget its revolutionary traditions, and for obvious reasons. As long as their class interests coincided, or seemed to coincide, with the interests of the human race, the human cause was their cause, and no farther. Indeed political freedom proved to be an excellent thing without its economic counterpart for the "valiant possessor of the valuable," as Ruskin aptly defined rich people. Who enjoys economic freedom because his is "valiant," can use political freedom as a means to get advantage over his less valiant fellow-citizens, as we witness in Switzerland, France and the United States. The government of so-called free countries is as easily run in the interests of a plutocracy as a monarchy in the interests of an aristocracy. The proletarian is left to his fate. He is doomed to be dependent on his only possession—his labor power as a ware in the market. All the insecurity, the fluctuations of supply and demand, competition and other beauties connected with the mercantile system, are burdening the broad shoulders of the dispossessed class of the people. The interests of this class are at present identical with the interests of the human race. This class is, therefore, naturally the carrier of the highest ideals of the age, is the advance guard of humanity struggling for its emancipation. Socialism is the mouthpiece of this struggle, its interpreter, its advocate and leader. Socialism must train the proletarian class and lead it against the hosts of capitalism.

II. THE FIRST NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND NATIONAL IMPORT.

After love, spring was, is and probably always will be a favorite subject with the poets of all zones. And indeed where can be found a more grateful subject for song? It evidently is more agreeable to behold a rapidly flowing brook than a frozen one; evident that flowers look and smell better than fallen leaves; that a long sunny day is more pleasant than a short, murky one; that the arrival of hosts of feathered singers is preferable to their departure for shores unknown. The poet has the comparatively easy task of putting these and like natural phenomena in more or less euphonious sounds, and the susceptible hearts of all innocent youths and maidens will overflow with vague but beautiful emotions and bless the lucky rhymers. No wonder that there are so many spring poets.

But we should like to transport one of these spring poets to the arctic regions and there let him try his skill and talent.

The arctic spring has no fragrant flowers, no flowing brooks, no singing birds. And yet a true poet would be able to express in one way or another that mysterious "something," which forms the incomparable charm of the dawn of the year in the arctic zone. There is in the air the calm hopefulness and serene joy of the pure platonic love of a chaste maiden. Look around you! The sun shines as bright, the sky is as clear, the snow as white, the trees are as barren as in winter. Nevertheless everything in nature seems changed, transformed. You cannot tell in words, how and why, but you feel these changes and transformations intensely with all the fibres of your body, with all the strength of your soul. You feel more than you perceive with your eyes while the caressing rays of sunny skies ardently kiss away the icy fetters and snowy covers of the earth, that sleeping beauty.

There were and are many gifted writers who have undertaken the comparatively grateful task of describing graphically great historical events, the dawn of new eras, the spring of a new epoch in the life of nations. And all the noble enthusiasts, the sober and honest thinkers, the great statesmen and

modest, unknown toilers in the cause of humanity, feel themselves indebted to these writers for inspiration in the dark hours of pessimistic despair, for consolation in the exasperating moments of unexpected failure, for the grand lessons they offer at a time when these lessons are more precious than all the treasures of the earth. But there are not many writers who discern the signs of a time preceding some great transformation in the history of humanity—signs escaping the eyes of the ordinary observer. Such writers are prophets, seers in the true sense of the word.

On the eve of great historical changes, as before the birth of Christ, the dawn of the renaissance, the French revolution and the Declaration of Independence, there were only a few who understood rightly that the old regime had outlived its utility and was bound to go and make way for a new order of things. Everything around seemed to the superficial observer just as unchanged, solid and firm as in good olden times. But the Christs, the Van Houtens, the Mirabeaus and the Franklins knew better. They felt that mysterious "something" which forms the charm of the dawn of new epochs in the history of humanity. They experienced the calm hopefulness and pure joy of seers who are sure that their most ardent desires, their most sacred ideas and ideals are soon to be realized. They felt intensely in every fibre, with all the strength of their great souls, the reviving rays of human reason and sympathy dispersing the dense darkness of the past and preparing a brighter future for generations to come. They felt this themselves and imparted these feelings to many of their more susceptible contemporaries and formed in such a way.

L'armee de la pensee,
L'armee toujours sacree,
Qui fait a le progres
Marcher l'humanite!

(The army of thought, the ever sacred army, which makes humanity move along the highway of progress).

In our own time, the winter of capitalism seems to have its full sway, with sheets of paper money for skies, with a golden eagle, as its sun, a silver dollar for its moon, and innumerable small coin for stars, with

profit, competition and mammon as its holy trinity. Sordid selfishness, hypocritical religiosity, barren mercantilism, gross negligence of civic duties and social obligations, anarchistic industry based on the rule *homo homini lupus*, all these beauties of the capitalistic system reign supreme.

And yet even in our sad times there is undoubtedly a mysterious "something" in the air, which augurs a great change in the social-economic structure of humanity. This "something" is no longer confined to single isolated seers, to small circles of new parties, to pioneers of great ideas and noble ideals. It is to be met with everywhere, in the general press, in the pulpit, in the court-room, in the theater, in political gatherings, in the sanctuaries of science and art. Only those who intentionally shut their eyes and ears do not see and hear these signs of the times, these death-knells of the mercantile system of society. It is true that these signs of the times are very frequently so blurred and intangible that they may seem insignificant if taken by themselves, but taken all in all they speak volumes.

One presidential campaign in the United States is conducted in about the same way as another. The professional politicians of both old parties organize their forces, manufacture issues, work out platforms, shape party pledges, give birth to campaign catch-words, flood the country with "educational" campaign literature and oral eloquence, violently denounce their opponents and profess their great love and admiration for the common people. The thoughtless crowd, the cattle of the ballot box, shout and whoop and sell their birthright to either one or the other of the old parties for a mess of nasty pottage. After the campaign is over there may be some change in the personal constituency of the actors on the political arena, some shifting and readjustment of the stage decorations. The play enacted, however will remain ever the same—the exploitation of the unorganized many by the organized few, the merciless exploitation of the weak by the strong, the honest and simple-minded by the crafty and unscrupulous.

Did I say this play will ever remain the same? No, not forever, but as long as any of the old parties, it is immaterial which, shall remain in power. And that cannot be very long. The middle class parties have no vital principles to incorpo-

rate, and a political party without vital principles is like a body without a soul.

The dense ignorance and criminal good-nature of the people may for a short time allow the old parties to preserve the outward appearance of life. The "mene tekél upharsin" of the old parties, however, is written with fiery letters on the walls of the modern Belshazzars of Commercialism and Capitalism.

The Social Democratic party—the first Socialistic political organization, that reached national and international proportions in the United States—started its first national campaign under the brightest auspices. There was a demand, a pressing need, for a new, honest third party, a national political party which would unite all enlightened, public-spirited men who are opposed to our present commercial and capitalistic system and its corrolaries—the management of national affairs by the hirelings of the capitalistic and commercial classes in the interests of these classes solely, and to the detriment of all the rest of the people, of toiling humanity without distinction of class.

The strength of the capitalistic parties in our days is not in the capitalistic class itself, but in the ignorance and indolence of the people in general and especially in the utter demoralization of the capitalistic mob.

By the term "capitalistic mob" we mean the thoughtless crowd of people who—far from being capitalists themselves or having a ghost of a show to become capitalists—are always ready to back up the institutions of commercialism and capitalism out of sheer stupidity and despicable success-worship: The power of the pro-slavery party of the South, just before the abolition, consisted likewise in the slavish trend of mind of the thoughtless crowd of retainers who could never afford to own a slave themselves. This ignorance, this indolence and demoralization were the most formidable enemies of the party for the abolition of black slavery.

The same ignorance, indolence and demoralization are the most formidable enemies of the Socialistic movement that undertakes the task of abolishing the slavery of the white wage-workers.

The surest way to victory for Socialism is by public enlightenment, and the best means are agitation and propaganda.

The Social Democratic party entered into its first national campaign with no sordid aims and purposes of office-hunting or self-aggrandizement. Those chosen not as leaders but as chief servants of the party (every member of the party was a leader), had no personal ambition but were inspired by the opportunity to promote the great cause.

The Socialistic movement is fully aware that the presidential election is the axis around which all the political machinery of the country moves. It regards the office of the president, in its present shape, as a menace to the freedom of the people and is certainly opposed to the present system of election by party. It detests all the tactics of the old parties. It merely uses the presidential campaign as an excellent opportunity for missionary work. It must fight the old parties with their own weapons on their own ground.

The Socialistic movement has tried to open the eyes of the people to the evils of our present public institutions: to unmask fools, who parade as sages; rogues pretending to be models of honesty, and charlatans who profess to be eminent specialists; to show the hideous features of salaried back-yard politicians posing as statesmen, and to point out the difference between the purposeless loafing of superfluous office-holders from genuine earnest work in the interest of the community. It has tried to lift the curtain of many a snug corner of our administration, honeycombed as it is with corruption.

At the same time, however, it has tried to keep before the eyes of the people the great principles and ideals it represents. The critical and constructive work of the movement must go on at the same time.

A clean work needs clean hands.

Great principles and lofty ideals demand a great and lofty man as their representative. Such a man was the nominee of the Indianapolis convention, Eugene V. Debs.

A truer heart and purer mind, a more sincere friend of toiling humanity has not been born in our country and century.

"The time is ripe, and rotten ripe for change;
Then let it come; I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind;
Nor think I that God's world will fall apart
Because we tear a parchment more or less.

Truth is eternal, but her effluence,
With endless change, is fitted to the hour;
Her mirror is turned forward to reflect
The promise of the future, not the past.
He who would win the name of truly great
Must understand his own age and the next,
And make the present ready to fulfil
Its prophecy, and with the future merge
Gently and peacefully, as wave with wave."

III. TWO PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE.

INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM, ANARCHISM AND RACEISM

Science has not supplied us so far with a satisfactory definition of matter, and for obvious reasons. A definition is the result of comparing two or more similar subjects, eliminating the identical and fixing our attention exclusively on the peculiar and characteristic properties of these subjects. As all the world, including that mysterious something that we call our ego or soul, consists only of matter in various kinds and degrees of motion, a comparison of matter with something else which is not matter is impossible. The cause of various kinds and degrees of motion of matter, making up the apparently endless variety of the visible world is called energy. The two fundamental laws of nature are the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy. These two laws may be stated more comprehensibly as follows: Not a particle of matter can be destroyed or created anew; matter is eternal. It may, however, undergo an endless chain of variations, owing to the kind and degree of motion of its smallest parts in space, caused by the different manifestations of energy. Energy may be considered as a condition of matter, more consistently from the monistic point of view, than as a cause of this condition. Whatever our views of energy may be, the fact is established beyond any shadow of doubt, that energy is just as indestructible as matter itself. As one condition of matter may make place for another, one kind of energy may be transformed into another, but never lost to the world at large. The instinct of self-preservation in the living world is one of the corrolaries of the fundamental laws of nature just stated. If matter and energy were destructible, the material world would not exist, if there were no instinct of self-preservation no life would be possible on earth.

All the great achievements of human culture and civilization are due on one side to the ingenuity with which humanity has directed natural forces into artificial channels favorable to human life, and on the other side to the ardent instinct of self-preservation so deeply rooted in human nature, the passionate desire to exist individually and racially. This instinct of self-preservation is a natural force. Natural forces are blind. The same wind that in its fury tears down build-

ings and destroys human life may be turned into useful channels and compelled to propel mills. The same applies to the instinct of self-preservation in human nature; it may be destructive and constructive according to the channels in which it moves. Even the most ignorant savage knows so much of nature as to be convinced of the futility of fighting natural forces. Rather the reverse is true; the savage turns the natural forces into so many deities, with which he colonizes his Olympus. It is childishy crude to regard the instinct of self-preservation as an evil called selfishness which must be eradicated, rather than a necessary force, which needs intelligence as a guide to life itself.

Don Quixote fought windmills, but he had too much sense to fight wind itself, that means the air in its motion. That is just what our Utopian friend the revolutionary (anarchistic philosophers or philosophical anarchists) and conservative (middle-class philosophers of the ethical culturists and church moralists) individualists advocate. They propose to eradicate this fundamental social force and change human nature so as to take away from it the very motive of its existence, to cure a headache by decapitation, to build up a society by destroying the building material on hand and killing the builder. A more irrational undertaking is hardly imaginable.

The Socialistic view of selfishness and the way to utilize it in the interests of the human race we have treated in some of our former articles and hope to treat later many a time. Let us here pass this phase of the problem and try to see how the instinct of self-preservation in humankind has originated two diametrically opposed philosophies of life. Taking for granted that self-preservation is the fundamental force of life, we have to deal with the ways and means to direct it. Between two points—the starting point and point of final goal of a force (the term final is used in a relative sense), the shortest road is a direct line; the most economic road from the point of view of preservation of energy is the curved line of least resistance. This law of mechanics applies likewise to social life in general. On the lower stages of life, taking the desire, for food as the starting point and its satisfaction as the final point, the animal will directly reach for the food just as it presents itself to its feelings, without any consideration as to the ratio between the energy to be expended and the end to be accom-

plished. The higher an animal stands on the evolutionary ladder the more considerations of economy in energy enters into its mode of satisfying its needs, the more the line of least resistance is followed. Cunning and prevision take the place of brute force and immediate impulses, association is resorted to and the elements of social co-operation appear on the surface, as in the case of the ant, the bee and the herd animals. The individual arrives at the conclusion that his interests will be best served by the somewhat roundabout way of apparently merging his individual interests into the sea of racial interests. This is the starting point of raceism, of which modern Socialism is the most typical expression, while individualism belongs to a lower stage of life and survives at present only as a hypocritical cant on the part of middle-class philosophers and as a Utopian dream of unphilosophic philosophical anarchists. Individualism celebrates its orgies in our present age of mercantilism and capitalism, and will die with it the ignominious death of a philosophy of brute force and slavery. Raceism—the philosophy of Socialism—is gaining ground with every day, and will usher in a new, higher and nobler stage of culture and civilization and be the crowning glory of the human race, the religion of the future.

There never was and certainly never will be a human creature without some philosophy of life, without some theory about the non ego, the not myself, the outward world, and some conception about the mutual relations between the outward and the subjective inward world, generally called the human soul. We are justified in going even one step farther and venturing to state, that the higher types of animals have some rudimentary conceptions of their relations towards the outward world. Fanciful as this statement may appear, it is however true that a bird protecting its nest or a tiger hunting a weaker animal, each respectively acts in accordance with some conception, however crude, of its place in nature. The hackneyed distinction between instinct and mind is unscientific, as there is only a difference in degree between these two properties, or rather functions, of the brain.

It is true that strictly speaking, there are as many conceptions in life as there are human individuals, and that these variations increase with the progressive evolution of the individuality. And yet we may very precisely distinguish between two cardinal principles in the popular conception of

life, principles diametrically opposed to, nay, even excluding each other.

One of these principles is ego-centrism, individualism, or anarchism. This principle is a survival of the exploded geocentric and anthropomorphic theories, according to which the entire universe is created by some supernatural being for the special benefit of a certain chosen human unit inhabiting the grain of cosmic dust called earth. From this puerile point of view, the outward world is only to be considered as a means of satisfying the desires and cravings of animals. From such a view it logically follows that might is right. Anarchism as a philosophy of life is as old as the oldest forms of life on earth. The prototype of an accomplished anarchistic philosopher in the animal kingdom is the tiger, just as an exploiter of human labor is an accomplished tiger in human shape. The tiger considers himself the sole object of the world's bounty, and therefore fully entitled to the flesh, blood and marrow of animals weaker than himself. The exploiter of human labor is the representative of the same *tiger philosophy*, in spite of his outward appearance.

The conception of life diametrically opposed to anarchism may be traced in its inceptive stage in the animal kingdom to the gregarious mammals. Life in herds presupposes some instinct of a social or racial nature. It is only natural that the racial instinct should reach its highest stage of development in the human kind.

The underlying principle of race-consciousness (as opposed to individual self-consciousness) is the recognition of the fact, that the interests of the individual are best served by their subjection to the interests of the aggregate. The plain principle of *race-consciousness* is nothing but the principle of *international socialism*. Socialism is therefore primarily a philosophy of life based on the recognition of the perfect solidarity of the interests of all the members of human-kind. Socialism in the broadest sense of the term is as old as the human race.

All the Zoroasters, the Buddahs, the Moseses, Isaiahs and Christs, all the hoary seers of the past, who preached race-consciousness, were emotional or religious socialists. There is, however, a vast difference between the socialism expounded and propounded by the founders of great religions of the world, the half-rationalistic, Utopian or imaginary socialism

of a Thomas More, Babeuf, Fourier or Robert Owen, and the thoroughly critical socialism of Rodbertus and Marx.

The Utopian socialists had no idea of society as a natural product of biological and anthropological development, as a complex result of the action, reaction, and co-operation of natural forces inherent in society. The Utopians rather thought, that society is entirely the result of the *free play of human will* and may be arbitrarily remodeled according to artificial designs or fancies at a moment's notice. The Utopians judged society from a high level of moral feeling and ideas (just as the religious teachers of the past) and also appealed to the higher qualities of the human mind. Their conception of history was thoroughly metaphysical.

Modern Socialism is the child of modern social conditions and a critical trend of mind. One of the most characteristic features of modern socialism is its so-called materialistic, or rather realistic conception of history, as opposed to the metaphysical conception of older schools. The great expounders of modern socialism, Rodbertus and Marx, first proved that not the will and whim of kings are the most important factors in the process of shaping the destinies of nations, but social and economic forces inherent in the masses and classes composing nations. They first proved that economic and social institutions are the result of these highly complex forces and subjected to evolutionary and revolutionary, to progressive and regressive changes. They first investigated social and economic phenomena, using exact and strictly scientific methods. They first established the existence of laws, the mutual relations between causes and effects in social and economic life. They were the Bacons and Darwins of economics. They first attempted to base the ideals of the future on a rational conception of the past and present. Sociology is the science of the development of society. Modern socialism is the art of applying the results of scientific investigations and deduction to the practical problems of human society. It is the meeting-ground of religion, rational ethics and pure science. Religion or rational ethics supplies the motive, the *why*, while science shows the way *how* to accomplish the true (not the mystical) salvation of humanity from the burden of spiritual and material anarchy, from the course of selfishness, the stupid subserviency to brute force and the arrogance of material wealth.

IV. SCIENCE AND ART IN THEIR RELATIONS TO SOCIALISM.

Is Socialism an idle fancy of noble dreamers, or an exact science founded on the impregnable rock of economic materialism? Is it a panacea for all the evils of humanity, or an antidote to the poison of capitalism—a kind of an antitoxin against the microbes of modern economic materialism?

Frenchmen say: "A comparison is no reason," and yet an analogy elucidates sometimes more than volumes of scientific proofs. We will therefore make an attempt to answer the question put at the head of this note by using a comparison. Medicine, preventive and curative, is an art founded on the so-called natural sciences and on the knowledge of the human body. Rational medicine is impossible without this knowledge. A physician without it is a dangerous quack. Society exists, just as the human body, according to certain conditions of its life and activities. If these conditions are in accord with natural laws, society prospers, and vice versa.

Human society can be, and is, studied by scientists. The science of society is known by the name of Sociology. Sociology is to society what natural sciences are to the human body—the real basis and foundation of its treatment in health and disease. Socialism, however, is the "art of Sociology," the "application of science to the practical problems of social life," the "materia medica," the hygiene and curative methods of the social body. This conception of Socialism is immensely broader and more harmonious than that of the economic materialist, since it takes into consideration all the human wants instead of only the material ones. The social unit of the economic materialist is not a living human being, with all his faults and passions, desires and ambitions, altruistic and egotistic inclinations, moral and immoral tendencies. This social unit is an abstraction, a man from whom all human traits are eliminated, except greed for possession of material goods. Economic problems play a great part in human life, and consequently in social life, too. But they do not constitute all of it. Economy as a science is a part of Sociology; the skeleton is a very important part of the human body; but a living man is infinitely more than a skeleton.

The science about the bones, osteology, is necessary for the general knowledge of the human body. But would it not be preposterous for osteologists to say that their science is all that is necessary for a practical physician? Economics are the osteology of human society, and to base on it the art of the treatment of society is simply preposterous.

As the knowledge of all the parts of the human body is the condition sine qua non of a good physician, the knowledge of all the laws of the interrelations of human beings is necessary for every Socialist who deserves the name. Socialism is no longer an idle dream; it is not a panacea, or a specific cure against a certain disease, it is not a science by and for itself. It is infinitely more than all that. It is the application of all the results of scientific investigation, of the results of human thought and noblest feelings to the problems of social life. Great is the dignity of a healer of the afflictions of the human body, and the preserver of health, but great are also his responsibilities. To be called a Socialist is the highest compliment that can be paid by one man to another. To be a true Socialist is the highest distinction a man can attain on earth. But how many deserve to be called so, and how many pretend to be Socialists, without any shadow of right to be counted as such? It is not enough to repeat thoughtlessly certain ready-made maxims and sentences in order to be a Socialist. It is necessary to study society in all its aspects and phases, to read, think and investigate much and long, in order to have the right to call one's self a Socialist. One independent thinking man is worth thousands of thoughtless repeaters of other people's ideas. It is a great and noble thing to "make Socialists," but the proper way to do it is to make them study, think and judge for themselves, to put them on their own feet. Feeling alone, sincere and deep as it may be, is not a secure foundation for a soldier of Socialism. Knowledge, and conviction coming from knowledge, and independent thought, are the most precious qualities of a healer of social wrong and a true social reformer. The so-called socialistic leaders who are opposed to academic study of society, because they "want fighters," are false prophets. Socialism in order to succeed must conduct an educational crusade. German Socialists owe their success to the systematic education of the masses, started by the genial Ferdinand Lassalle and kept up to our day. The Socialists of England try to

do the same. The American Socialists must adopt the same policy. An ignorant soldier is a poor fighter.

Society is not an organism, but an organization. Indeed, it is the highest stage of organization of matter to be met with in nature.

Sociology is a natural science in the full meaning of the term. Society is governed by the same laws that rule the rest of the organic and inorganic world. The proper method of studying society consists in the analysis of the forces which form and keep societies alive. Before we begin this analysis, however, we must cast a cursory glance at the probable stages of the development of society among primitive men.

The first stage consisted probably of a grouping of men in small numbers for the purpose of a more successful acquirement of food. The second stage was the association of larger numbers of men in consequence of their more rapid multiplication due to increased sagacity in providing food. The establishment of some rude forms of government formed the third stage of social life. Tribal development can be accepted as the fourth stage of the association of man, eventually resulting in the union of tribes into nations, and the union of nations into higher aggregates of a cosmopolitan character.

Let us now see what are the social forces of which we have spoken. Society is an aggregation of men, and we have therefore to consider the forces of human activity in particular in order to understand their general and complex manifestations in society. The animal world is governed by two primary principles. One is the self-preservation of the individual, and the other the propagation of the race. These principles are manifested in corresponding desires. These desires are natural forces, compelling their agents to perform certain acts leading to certain results. The human animal makes no exception to these primary principles of organic life.

Hunger, thirst and cold are the most powerful stimulants to human activity. It is want of food, clothing and shelter that compels men to work, to create industries, to accumulate wealth, to proclaim rights of property, to fix rules of conduct, to found cities and establish states, to inaugurate wars and arrange peace. The great difference between man and the brute creation consists not in the desire of the individual to live and reproduce his kind, but rather in the method of gratifying these blind but strong desires, which Schopenhauer

calls the "will." In animals the method is brute force, forming a straight line between the point of desire and the point of gratification. In man the method is indirect and along the line of least resistance. Nature is prodigal in its methods, man economical. Nature has efficient causes, but no aims or purposes. Man does everything with an aim or purpose in view.

Why does the human being employ indirect methods, while the rest of the living world employs direct ones? The answer is found in the fact of the peculiar spiritual mind of man. Nobody denies now that man is an animal, but very many forget that he is immensely more, that his reasoning faculty elevates him far above the rest of the living world. This reasoning intelligence in man constitutes a powerful force in human society. Men use their intellects to their own advantage. They observe and study nature in all its manifestations and use the acquired knowledge for their practical purposes.

The knowledge of nature is science; the application of science is called art. The primitive appliances of the savage of the Stone Age for hunting animals, his rude cave dwelling, the manufacture of skin clothing, the discovery and production of fire, all were the results of some crude knowledge of the laws of nature, and an awkward attempt to apply them to the needs of practical life. All the progress of the human race was of necessity along these lines of knowledge.

But there was another field of knowledge, the knowledge of human nature itself. Increased intellect, deepened sympathy, and refined feeling resulted not only in the perfection of food, shelter and clothing, in the development of conceptions of duty and justice and in economic progress, but it created the desire for fine arts, evolved the higher feelings of patriotism, and the desire to serve humanity out of the purest motives of usefulness to the race. The knowledge of nature and men is a means to these ends. Once we know what must happen under certain conditions, we may either modify these conditions or take precautionary measures. Knowledge enables men to artificially change their environment. All the culture and civilization of the world is in this sense artificial—the result of art, of applied science. It is the indirect method of gratification.

The return to nature advocated by Rousseau would mean

return to animalism, the degradation of man to the brute level. The artificiality of society is not only not unnatural, but is in entire harmony with nature. Society in its advanced condition contains both—highly developed individualism and co-operation in all fields of activity. Nature works through competition, i. e., through the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. Men as rational beings prefer the economical method of co-operation which leads to the survival of the best. Nature destroys its weak children without mercy; men protect theirs with love and sympathy. Competition is a brute force, co-operation a humane method, founded on rational principles of conservation of energy and economy of forces.

Even monopolization of transportation, exchange, finance and industry is a higher stage than chaotic competition. It is not true that competition leads to cheapness and monopoly to higher prices. Competition is always wasteful and uneconomical. If monopolies lead to higher prices, it is not on account of the inherent quality of the organization itself, but in consequence of the unchecked avarice of the owners of the concerns.

The real remedy for monopolies is not their abolition, but their nationalization.

The overwhelming power of so-called capital, as opposed to so-called labor, the superiority of the so-called monopolies as opposed to the great numbers of consumers, consists only in the fact of their organization, as opposed to competition. The laborers and consumers compete with each other, while the capitalists and monopolists co-operate.

The real way out of this dilemma of seemingly opposed interest is organization of the consumer and worker.

To expect success in a fight against organization with the weapons of competition is just as reasonable as it would be to expect victory for the scattered warriors of an Indian tribe armed with arrows, in battle with a company of trained soldiers armed with rifles of the latest pattern. Another great popular fallacy is the principle of "lesser faire," "lesser passer,"—let alone—in the domain of social life. Historically, the principle of extreme individual liberty and all possible limitations of the controlling powers of the state was a negation of the extreme paternalism of the French monarchy. The let-alone-policy long ago outlived its

usefulness. Thoughtless, illogical and ignorant people have built a whole system on this foundation of sand. Misuse of a principle does not prove its inherent inadequacy. The transgression of legitimate limits by the French or other despotic governments does not prove that government in general is hurtful. Just the reverse must be the strictly logical conclusion. If a government under unfavorable conditions may be a powerful agency for evil, the counterpart of this proposition must be equally true. That means that government under favorable conditions must be a powerful agency for good. Organized society is an artificial creation of men with the purpose of the best possible accommodation of its individual members. It is a mistake to look on government as something apart from the people and hostile to their interests. The so-called evils of government are due to misgovernment or false government. Blessings would result from a truly social democratic government.

V. ANARCHISM FROM THE SOCIALISTIC POINT OF VIEW.

Every error contains a grain of truth, and every truth the germs of error. The *modus operandi* of people without principles in dealing with opponents consists in throwing all the "ists" in one heap and labelling them indiscriminately as cranks and miscreants. But people with genuine convictions and ideas of their own can well afford to be just to those who honestly disagree with them. Truth fortunately cannot be monopolized by anybody, and sincere truth-seeking is more precious than the possession of truth itself.

The object of this chapter is to examine *sine ira et studio* the arguments, philosophy and ideals of anarchism, from the Socialistic point of view. There is no line of thought so alien, so diametrically opposed to Socialism, as so-called anarchism. And yet no teaching is so often mistakenly confounded with Socialism by the popular mind as anarchism. And, what signifies far more, the mixing up of these two theories of future social development is not altogether due to ignorance or malice.

There are indeed quite a number of points in common between Socialism and philosophical anarchism. Both theories are essentially revolutionary. Both agree in their negation of the present state of society. Both are in favor of free association and opposed to the zoological struggle for existence called competition. The points of divergence are, however, very important. Socialism stands first of all for TRUE "equality," for EQUAL opportunities to all members of society, for justice. Philosophical anarchists insist chiefly on individual liberty. Socialism considers as paramount the interests of the race; anarchism of the person. Socialism is based on the principle, "the highest boon to the largest number," the anarchists want to guard the rights and privileges of minorities. Socialism demands in return from each member of society the fulfillment of certain duties. Anarchism knows no limits to the part of the common produce and wealth which may be consumed by each individual. To the Socialist the state of government is all, and all are the state. The anarchist abhors the state and government with the superstitious fear entertained by the orthodox priests of the

medieval ages towards the evil one. Indeed the relation of the anarchists towards the state cannot be characterized better than by the expression superstition, as we shall prove later.

Socialists wish to organize society according to a general plan, founded on certain principles of science and ethics. Anarchists recognize only the chaotic play of "wills," of single individuals, which will eventually result in voluntary co-operation and association. Such are in a nutshell the differences between Socialistic and anarchistic doctrines.

Before however we venture to analyze the soundness of the anarchistic antithesis to Socialism, we have to touch briefly upon two groups of men, who are quite frequently identified with philosophical anarchists without the slightest justification. I mean the individualists of the Spencerian school on one side and the Hoedels, Oteros, Nobilings, Passanantes, Ravachols, and *tutti quanti* on the other side. The middle class individualists are anything but revolutionary in their ideals and tendencies. They worship zoological evolution and expect the salvation of humanity from the exploitation of the weak by the strong, from competition, and other beauties of our present social system. Their practical ethics may be summed up in their golden rule: "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." On every attempt of organization and control of social forces they look with disfavor as slavery in disguise. "Let alone and evolution will do the rest," is their somewhat fatalistic maxim. All kinds of egotism and rude selfishness may pass under this pseudo-scientific cover. Individualists of this stamp are in more than one sense anarchists, but it would be an injustice to such philosophical anarchists as Peter Krapotkin and Elisee Reclus to be classed with the champions of our present industrial anarchy.

The assassins of persons of high social standing, some of whose names we mentioned above, we would call Herostratians, from their prototype, Herostratus. This degenerate burned one of the wonders of ancient Greece, the temple of Diana of Ephesus, from no other motive than morbid desire of fame.

The Herostratians are a pathological set of men. Not able to be great, they want to be notorious. Their acts of violence have no relation whatever to any particular social doctrine. It is the morbid ambition of people who have nothing to lose

except their wretched lives, and nothing to gain except the thoughtless admiration of their like, that moves their dagger or throws their bomb. Born in misery and squalor, reared among the scum of the population, these step-children of society are full of hatred towards all who seem to rule it. Poorly, if at all, educated, they are unable either to see anything below the surface of social relations, or to distinguish between systems and persons seemingly representing these systems.

This class of altruistic criminals ought to be treated like irresponsible lunatics. The rulers of our present society however prefer to surround them with the halo of martyrdom for an idea, with the purpose of impressing the popular mind with the belief that all the radical movements are pernicious and senseless. Once the popular prejudice is created, every act of the Herostrations is used as a pretext for repressive measures against "all the enemies of society," that is, all radicals. It is a notable fact that countries like Italy, Spain and Russia, the most backward politically, socially and economically, where the people are kept in dense ignorance and dire distress, produce most of these Herostrations. They are the blind tools of Nemesis pronouncing the memento mori to a system of affairs that has outlived its usefulness and is about to pass into eternity. Without desiring it, the Herostrations best serve the retrograde and conservative elements of society and retard considerably the march of progressive ideas.

But let us return to the teachings of the philosophical anarchists. Says Peter Krapotkin: "The essence of collectivism may be reduced to these points: Partial communism in the possession of instruments of production and education. Competition among individuals and groups for bread, housing and clothing. Individualism for works of art and thought. The state's aid for children, invalids and old people. The state will be substituted for the employer and his role of buyer and overseer of labor will be still an odious tyranny." Prince Krapotkin obviously does not care to distinguish between competition and emulation. To competition. Socialists are opposed from principle (and with more justification than individualists, however radical in their views) but they have no objection to the incentive of emulation. Obviously, however, the cardinal point in the criticism of collectivism is with Prince Krapotkin, as with all anarchists, the

negation of the state or government. State and government are their bugaboos. According to them a state or government is not only essentially bad, but sure to spoil the best men, once they come in contact with it. No state or government so far has been free from abuse and this is considered a valid argument against that institution in general.

The irrationality of such a conception will become clear at once if we apply the same method of reasoning to association. Associations of men are liable to be exploited by a few unscrupulous people to the detriment of the rest. Does it follow from this that associations are pernicious institutions? Would not the opposite conclusion be rather more logical? What can be abused can be used also! Anarchists insist so much on liberty, that they forget equality. But what is liberty without equality? Is it not a snare and a delusion in our great republic?

A recently immigrated German laborer defined liberty as follows: "If you have no money to buy bread, you are at liberty to go hungry; if you have no money to hire a lodging you are free to sleep on the street." Remarkably enough, the anarchists are not in the least afraid of the abuses of liberty "because only those who do nothing make no mistakes." To the anarchists the state is personified in a ferocious-looking policeman with a vicious club in his hand, striking to the right and left. The state is to the anarchist something outside of the people, not an organic growth with a justification in the past and capable of development; it was, is and shall always be an angel with the sword, keeping humanity out of the anarchistic paradise for its sins of commission and omission. The anarchists seldom take even the trouble to define what they mean by the expressions state and government, taking it for granted that everybody will have in view the state in which he happens to live. They do not take into account the historical perspective.

Let us try to define what we Socialists mean by state or government. We mean by it nothing more nor less, than the direct administration of all public affairs by the people itself. The highest aim and purpose of government or, if you prefer, national administration, is the attainment of the highest possible ideal of ethics, and the state must be looked upon as the means of attainment of the highest possible happiness of mankind. The rights of individuals must be sacrificed only

as far and as long as it is absolutely necessary to the welfare of society at large. Coercion is not an essential function of the state. Attractive is preferable to prohibitive legislation, and enlightened citizenship is possible without the use of force. Politics may be treated as a special science, which in conjunction with political economy and jurisprudence, represents a part of the system of humanitarian sciences known as social science. The object of the science of politics is the State, the theory of state-craft, and the description of the different forms of government in the past and present.

The origin of the state was supposed by the scientists and thinkers of the past century to be a voluntary agreement between the citizens of a given locality, a "Social contract," as Rousseau styled it. It was supposed that people lived originally in a so-called natural anarchistic state and then agreed to create the state. The anarchists still adhere to this myth, reminding us of the teaching of the church about the fall of man, but all scientists have abandoned it for the historical point of view. Man is a gregarious being. On the lowest stages of civilization there are already noticeable some elements of authority, this essential attribute of the state. There was a time when the state tried to subject all the economical activity of the nation to the fiscal interests of the state treasury. Hence arose a violent opposition upon the part of a certain economic school. The opposition was well founded, and led to the policy of non-interference of the State in economic affairs. The era of industrial anarchy called capitalism was the result. It went from bad to worse.

The Socialistic state will resume the control of the economic functions of society. The purpose and aim of the control will be purely ethical, the protection of the human individuality from the fate of a mere accessory to tools of production, the preservation of life, health and well-being of the toiling masses. It will not be the state of the past or present, but a new institution, corresponding to the needs and demands of a new social system. It will be the highest stage of human consociation attainable. Each citizen will have certain functions to perform and the duty of the state will consist in such a correlation of these functions, as to insure the most perfect effectiveness in their performance, for the entire society. As the element of profit and exploitation, com-

petition and compulsion, will be entirely eliminated, it will be the obvious interest of each and all to perform their respective social functions in the best way possible. Those who may feel the burdens of citizenship in the Socialistic state too hard will have the choice of leaving it. But the attractions and advantages of a Socialistic organization will undoubtedly be so great that cases of dissatisfaction with the whole system will be very few indeed.

Says G. F. Ratzentofer in his "Positive Philosophy of Social Life." "He, who belongs to his social group only conditionally and unreliably, becomes an egoist. But in so far as such reflections spring from the interest of the species, or finally from social interests, they guide the man to moral renunciation of self, whereby he receives impetus to co-ordinate or even sub-ordinate his individual weal to that of his community. This is an evolutionary phenomenon, which points to the underlying principle of all creation. The process of unifying mutual relationship manifests itself in the face of the individualistic atomizing impetus as indispensable for the natural development of society. The degeneration caused through individualization leads partly to voluntary, partly to forced, sub-ordination of individuals in a social union. The more life incites individual interests, the more important is social constraint to limit the degenerating differentiation, in order not to endanger the species and its social structures through war of all against all."

Clearly there is nothing arbitrary in the phenomena of social life. Every phenomenon of social life is subject to the general laws of causation. The state is no exception to this rule. It is a product of evolution, and is bound to evolve, as humanity progresses on the road of rationalization and moralization of its social institutions.

The attitude of anarchists toward the state is obviously not only unscientific, but truly irrational. This attitude is simply a survival of the fantastic conceptions of a Jean Jacques Rousseau, about the blessings of a "natural state," which never and nowhere existed. It is not a progressive, but rather a retrograde attitude, an attempt to return to a state of things characteristic only of the lowest stages of animal life. The anarchists deny the state in the name of the freedom of the individual. But they take, in their short-sightedness, the means for an end.

Freedom is only one of the means of human happiness. But freedom alone cannot guarantee happiness to men. Rather the reverse of this is true. Even anarchists recognize that man is a social being. And social life is unthinkable without some limitations, voluntary or otherwise, of the freedom of the individuals composing it. The anarchistic theory is purely negative and therefore purely destructive. It works to destroy authority (how is it about the "authority of science?") in all its aspects, it demands the abrogation of all laws and the abolition of the mechanism that serves to impose them, it refuses all hierarchical organizations.

But when trying to build—they turn Socialists, they then "preach free agreement, establishment of such relations between men that the interests of each should be the interests of all." Of course the anarchists pretend to insist on FREE agreement, not on free AGREEMENT, which last is Socialistic pure and simple. We are sure, however, that every impartial man will call it a distinction without a difference. Anarchists are against repressive measures as a means of maintaining a certain moral level and rely rather on moral teaching and the practice of mutual help. But so do the Socialists likewise. Anarchists are very solicitous about the development of individual originality. But Socialism will be the best soil for development of originality of thought, of exquisite taste, and inventive spirit. The satisfaction of the lower needs will not consume so much time and energy as at present, and there will be splendid opportunities to develop the higher faculties of mind.

Minorities are not less near and dear to the hearts of anarchists than individual freedom. They claim that the Socialistic state will of necessity be a rule of the majority over the minority. But how about the minority of those who may refuse to enter into the FREE agreement? "Will they be obliged to take to the woods?" As we see, individual freedom, the rights of minorities are the good genii and the state is the evil spirit.

The evil spirit must be expelled, and the good genii carefully guarded. There is considerably more heat than light in this creed. We call this dogmatic view of State, individual freedom and minority right, a creed, because there is no valid proof behind it, because it is rather a product of emotion than reason.

How much deeper and broader is the Socialistic conception of the future of society! Socialism does not destroy anything, not even capitalism. Capitalism is bound to work out its own destruction. Socialism lets the dead bury their dead and uses every available material in the present stage of society for the upbuilding of the future society. It has neither prejudice nor superstitions, neither fetishes nor pet genii, which it blindly worships. It does not mix up means with aims. It is strictly evolutionary and critical in its philosophy, clear in its ideals, and appeals with equal success to the intellect and to the hearts of men. Anarchism is the reduction to absurdity of the individualism of Herbert Spencer, and the individualism of Spencer is half-way anarchism.

There is no justification in the criticism of our present industrial anarchy upon the part of anarchists as such. We mean, there is no logic, no consistency in it. Our present industrial anarchy, with its principle, *homo hominis lupus*, is the result of the chaotic play of individual wills that ought to gladden the heart of every true anarchist. And still all honest anarchists denounce it almost in the same terms as the Socialists. Why? Simply because there is confusion of thought in their heads. What reason indeed have the anarchists to expect wonders from the chaotic play of individual wills in the future when they condemn its results in the present society? Is it not puerile to expect that wolves will enter into voluntary agreement with lambs to co-operate in "establishing of such relations between them, that the interests of each should be the interests of all?" Where is the foundation to this delightful optimism?

In all nature the species, (the race,) is paramount. The individual plays only a secondary part. Nature is very much concerned about the preservation of the kind, but cares very little about the preservation of the individual. Should humanity make an exception to that rule, that is, should the interests of the human aggregation be less important than that of a single unit?

Is not the term freedom itself misleading? Only those who do not believe in fixed relations between effects and causes (and their number is fortunately growing smaller every day) recognize a free will. But if there is no free will, what is

left of individual freedom? Is not freedom a mere negation of the opposite condition—un-freedom, dependence, slavery in some shape or form?

Once more we call attention to the fact, that the exponents of anarchistic ideas, Bakounin, Krapotkin and others, were born and reared in countries whose government is below any criticism; where the state is the worst possible oppressor and exploiter of the people. Naturally enough, the justified negation of the state and government with which they were acquainted, turned into negation of the state and government in general. It is also natural that the prophets of anarchism should best succeed in countries so badly governed as Spain and Italy. This is a natural result of just indignation and noble emotion, although irrational and illogical in conception. With the same sharp knife we use to cut our bread some man may cut another's throat, but that would be no argument against the use of knives in general. It is natural that bad government should breed anarchists, people who are superficial enough to be satisfied with the negation of the use of a tool because it is misused under their very eyes. But negation of that kind can not satisfy thoughtful people. Negation will only lead them to careful observation and study, and observation and study are bound to lead them to socialism.

We believe we are justified in claiming that there is not one economist and sociologist of note in this country and abroad, who is not more or less socialistic in his views. Even the old political parties begin to feel uneasy on account of the rapid spread of socialistic ideas and emotions among the people and try to throw sand in their eyes by adopting pseudo-socialistic planks and programs. Such was the State Socialism of Count Bismarck, such is the municipal ownership howl in the United States. It is hypocrisy, of course. But hypocrisy is the tribute paid by vice to virtue, it is the involuntary recognition of a surely coming dreaded power.

It is not Socialism that prepares the field for anarchism. It is anarchism that clears the ground for socialism. Dissatisfaction leads to negation, negation to thought and study, and thought and study to the affirmation of socialism.

In conclusion let us answer the question: What should be the attitude of the socialists towards philosophic anarchism? We think this attitude should be friendly, courteous,

but reserved and uncompromising. There is not the slightest doubt of the honesty and high-mindedness of such men as Peter Krapotkin or Elisee Reclus. As we have seen, they are practically socialistic in their views, still they are enemies of socialism, paradoxical as it may sound. Logically they are the natural allies of the capitalistic individualists; emotionally, they are in accord with socialists. Poor fellows! they may well exclaim with Faust: "Zwei Herzen, ach, wohnen in meiner Brust!" Their ideals are of a past that never existed, of a paradise that could not be lost because it was never found, a Utopia, a nowhere, a *Nirgendsheim*. The few grains of truth contained in the anarchistic philosophy are, as we have seen not anarchistic, but rather socialistic. The rest is composed of the sand of individualism, on which one can only build airy castles, peopled with phantoms of the imagination.

Having no positive ideas and ideals of its own—anarchism is bound to expire long before the socialist state will be inaugurated. As soon as bad government—the only *raison d'être* of anarchism shall pass away, nothing will be left for it to feed upon. The present state or government is the Carthage of the anarchists, and they are never tired of repeating the key-note of all their philosophy: "*Ceterum censeo—Carthaginem esse delendam!*" But when the new Socialistic Carthage shall be built on the ruins of the old one, the anarchists will go out of business.

VI. TILTS AT THE WINDMILL OF STATE SOCIALISM.

What is state Socialism? Who advocates and who opposes state Socialism? These and similar questions suggest themselves to many earnest students and observers of modern social economic conditions and theories. Capitalistic anarchists agree with the proletarian anarchists in their attitude towards the complex political institution called state, at least in theory. The reactionary individualist of the Manchester school and the revolutionary anarchist of action of the red-hot type both look upon the state as an evil. There is, however, a diversity of opinion as to the degree of toleration accorded to the bugaboo state, between the right and left wing of contemporary anarchy. The right wing, the capitalists, want to limit the prerogatives and functions of the state to police duties, to the protection of personal liberty and private property, while the left wing, the proletarian anarchist, demands the entire abolition of the state. This diversity of opinion is due mainly to the difference between the social economic status of those wings. The capitalist has in his possession worldly goods and tries to keep them with the aid of a police state. He needs law and order, that would put him in a position to do as he "d——d pleases" in his private business affairs in general, and treat his employes as he "d——d pleases" in particular. Any other function of the state, except police functions, is decried by the capitalist as paternalism and state Socialism. The proletarian anarchist abhors the very law and order his twin brother in philosophy demands as a necessary evil. The proletarian anarchist has no worldly goods to lose. He sees in the modern state an ingeniously regulated and skillfully manipulated machine for the exploitation of the economically weak by the powerful. The capitalist is shrewd enough to make the state subservient to his personal and class interests. The proletarian anarchist cannot conceive of any kind of state except a police state. He is politically blind in the same sense as there are color-blind people. Indeed this political Daltonism makes the revolutionary anarchists the allies of capitalism and fanatical opponents of Socialism.

The respectable individualist of the Spencerian type and

the slum proletarian of anarchy agree in their denunciation of any school and all schools of Socialism as state Socialism, bent on the destruction of personal freedom. The extremes meet. The bourgeois fights Socialism by all available means; this is natural enough. There is, however, much that is tragically comic in the assistance he gets from the so-called revolutionary anarchism. The future historians of the spiritual life of our age of contradictions will have to unravel the enigma of the mental aberration called philosophical anarchism, a mental aberration causing men like Peter Krapotkin to waste their great mental and moral capacities in a cause doomed by its very nature to barrenness of results and phraseological Don Quixotism. Anarchism minutely describes what its devotees must abstain from doing, but it is mere negation as far as any positive program of action is concerned. Indulgence in phraseological gymnastics of pseudo revolutionary denunciation of everybody and everything non-anarchistic, i. e., of all the world and all there is on it and in it—cannot be considered as action, but rather as a harmless amusement. This absence of any positive program of action (the only logical deduction of which is non-resistance to evil) makes it the more fascinating for some indolent minds, is the secret of its success in certain society circles and of its tendency to become the official philosophy of the bourgeoisie.

Let us, however, leave the revolutionary phrasemongers of anarchism and their allies, the conservative individualists, to their fate and engage in proving how far their ideas about state Socialism are correct. Marx explains the process of Socialization of industry as follows: "The proletariat will turn the tools of production at the start into the property of the state. By this very act, however, the proletariat destroys itself as the proletariat and does away with class distinction and class differences, does away with state as state." Does this sound like state Socialism? Engels in his "Development of Socialism," expresses the belief that after the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth the struggle of individual existence with its conflicts and excesses will be eliminated and the (police) state will, having nothing to repress, die away. In his "Anti-Duehring," Engels unequivocally recognizes the state of the past and present as an organ of political repression. Bernstein defines Democracy as the negation of class rule or class

privileges of any kind. "Democracy means the equality of rights among all the members of the community. This equality of rights is the barrier against majority rule in each actual case of popular government. The more this conception of Democracy penetrates into the consciousness of society, the more will Democracy be identified with the highest possible degree of freedom for all. Of course Democracy does not mean the negation of all law. What distinguishes a Democracy from other political systems is the elimination of laws creating exclusive rights, laws creating inequalities among the members of society. In our age it is almost a certainty that a majority of a Democratic community will abstain from making laws restricting for a considerable length of time personal freedom. The majority of today may turn out to be the minority of tomorrow and any law calculated to suppress the minority may have retroactive influence on the lawmakers themselves. Socialism does not want to create a new bondage (*Gebundenheit*). The individual shall be free, of course, not in the metaphysical sense, as the anarchists dream, i. e., free from all duties toward society, but free from all economic pressure in the choice of calling and in his movements. Such freedom for all can be accomplished by the means of organization."

That modern Socialism is not tied up by any special scheme of state organization will be obvious from the following words of the known Socialistic writer, Dr. David of Mainz: "The final goal of Socialism is the greatest possible welfare of all. This is the essential part of it. All the rest in our program has to be considered only as a means to attain that final goal. The socialization of the means of production even is only a means. What we struggle for is not the beauty of Socialistic principles, but the greatest possible welfare of all. Everything must be sub-ordinated to this final goal even the Socialistic principles. The recognition that these principles are the best means to attain the final goal makes us Socialists. But even the Socialistic principles of social economics will have to be modified and restricted in respect to time, manner and extent of their practicability, if we some day arrive at the conclusion, that their radical introduction would not yet lead or not lead at all to the greatest possible welfare of all. Society is of higher importance to us, than any of its forms."

These quotations will suffice to show how far modern Socialism is from the bugaboo of respectable bourgeois philistines and of the philistine of the revolutionary anarchistic phrase. State Socialism was inaugurated by the iron and blood chancellor of Germany, the astute Prince Bismarck, in direct opposition and as a kind of an antidote against the "Virus of Social Democracy." It was intended as a means to gain the laboring class for the military and police state by bribing it, by granting certain beneficiary institutions. State Socialism proved to be a flat failure, while Socialism is gaining more and more ground in all civilized countries.

Enrico Ferri says: "The unconquerable force of Social Democracy, the secret of its life energy, consists in the fact that Socialism, like the hero Anthaeus, constantly touches the earth, i. e., the real things and actual life. Socialism draws its unconquerable powers from the material and spiritual needs of actual life. The forceful teachings of Marx, that replaced the hazy, platonic and subjective idealism of other political parties and Utopian Socialism (and anarchism. Remark of the author) gives us a direction and aim, and makes it possible for us to remain on the soil of reality."

Modern Socialism is critical and constructive. Utopian or anarchistic Socialism may fight the windmills of state Socialism to the glee of the individualistic philistine of the middle class and the heart's delight of all the Sancho-Panchos of the revolutionary phrase. So-called philosophical and unphilosophical anarchists may indulge as much as they please in NOT believing in God and devil, NOT voting, NOT organizing, NOT recognizing any social institutions, NOT doing anything particular except occasionally dropping an explosive at the wrong time, the wrong place and injuring the wrong parties. They may pass their time in missionary propaganda consisting in a diarrhea of words and constipation of ideas. They may dream about a fool's paradise with plenty of enjoyment and fun, but no law, no state, no church, no family, no social obligations, where, however, everything is free, including lunch and love, and everybody may do as he wishes. Socialism will accomplish its mission in spite of all that, by daring and doing the right thing at the right time and in the proper way.

VII. THE BLONDE BEAST, THE MAN WITH THE HOE AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR.

Rationalistic modern Socialism is based, not exclusively on certain economic theories and maxims, as some narrow-minded "Socialists pure and simple" think and would fain make others believe, but on the broad foundation of modern science and thought. The economic theories peculiar to modern Socialism are derived from the application of the results of the achievements of modern knowledge and philosophy to the field of social economics. The trouble with the "Socialists pure and simple" is in the extreme limitations of their mental horizon. They happen to know, or rather imagine that they have mastered Marxian economics, while modern science and philosophy remains to them a sealed letter. That is why they get irritated whenever and wherever they meet in the socialistic press an article containing something else than the everlasting parrot-like repetitions of pseudo socialistic commonplaces and shibboleths. Every attempt to present to the attention of the readers of socialistic publications, glimpses of the radiant world of science and philosophy, leading up to socialistic ideas and ideals in all their world-redeeming significance, appears to the simple-minded and superstitious, simon-pure Socialists, as an attack on somebody or something, as a heresy and heterodoxy of some kind. To such people the religion of science is the religion of ignorance, and vice versa, ignorance is their religion and science.

But what have these remarks to do with the theme of this chapter, with the blonde beast, the man with the hoe and the philosophy of despair? Nothing; except that they serve to show the utter helplessness of the simon-pure Socialist when confronted with problems of deeper and broader significance than "surplus value" and iron laws of "supply and demand," problems without the solution of which an actual knowledge even of these economic theories is impossible. A simon-pure Socialist is sure that he is in possession of the truth, of the whole truth and nothing but the truth, that all who do not exactly agree with him in his dogmatic faith are

either fools or knaves, or both at the same time. He is happy in his belief. Ask him, however, what and why he thinks one way or another about the philosophy of Nietzsche or Tolstoi and you will hear him call them names instead of bringing forth arguments tending to show the same materialistic conception of history he pretends to represent in the capacity of an orthodox Marxist.

We will in this chapter not mention again the orthodox Marxists, fearing that we be accused of attacking them, which is not our intention; we will limit ourselves to the consideration of the two great German and Russian individualistic or anarchistic thinkers from the socialistic point of view. Nietzsche, philosopher of an epoch of blood and iron in the German history, and Tolstoi, the representative of the thought of the Russian era of Czarism, are as unlike each other as are the respective races, culture and civilization to which they belong. Two things are, however, common to them. The philosophy of Nietzsche, the idealizer of brute force, leads to the same blind alley of despair in the future fate of humanity, to utter pessimism, as the philosophy of Tolstoi, the preacher of non-resistance to evil. Both Nietzsche and Tolstoi declare for the supremacy of the individual over the race and despise social institutions as tending to the deterioration of the individual; both are anarchists in their trend of thought. That some anarchists, do not see in Nietzsche one of their apostles, a man who dared to reduce the anarchistic philosophy to its outmost logical conclusion, the apotheosis of the brute force in man, of the blonde beast, goes only to show that there are so-called philosophical anarchists just as narrow and simple minded as some of our friends, the Socialists pure and simple.

The historical conditions created the landed gentry or junker caste in Germany, an arrogant, ignorant and brutal class of semi-feudal and semi-capitalistic stamp. This class represents the type of physical health and perfection of the Caucasian branch of the animal styled by learned men *homo sapiens*. The blonde beast is endowed by nature with gigantic appetite and absence of any moral restraint; it is ready and willing to devour all and everything in sight and out of sight. It glories in its physical force and has no conception whatever of the spiritual, mental or moral part of human nature except as a means to

its chief and only aim, the satisfaction of its desires. All those who do not happen to belong to the Junker class are not aristocratic overmen, or blonde beasts, but common undermen, (or rather underdogs), a lower race, whose business it is to feel happy and dignified by subordination to a higher one. The German Junker, as overman and blonde beast, is the first born, the beloved son of God and Nature, the fittest to survive. All other mortals are expected to obey when the blonde beast gives orders. The common undermen must slave all their lives in order to allow the overman to enjoy life and multiply.

This is the law of God and Nature, according to the philosophy of Nietzsche, with one slight modification. The philosopher of the blonde beast broke the cast line and substituted the purely individual qualifications of a blonde beast for the accident of birth. He was liberal enough to admit that there were blonde beasts outside of the Junker caste and that some Junkers may accidentally be under-men.

But enough of that nude brute Junker anarchism of war and strife. Let us turn to the more sympathetic, although just as pathologic, anarchism of peace and passive submission to evil, the philosophy of Count Leo Tolstoi. If the triumphant but stupid blonde beast arouses our just indignation and hatred, the Russian Mushik, the genuine man with the hoe, deserves our pity and compassion, our sympathy and moral support. Count Leo Tolstoi is the philosopher of the Russian man with the hoe, just in the same sense as Nietzsche of the German Junker. It does not require much mental exertion to understand the philosophy of the blonde beast, its origin and psychology. But it is quite a task to unravel the mystery of the soul-life of the man with the hoe. We westerners are all more or less blonde beasts in our daily life, but we have no key in our mind to the Psychology of the Russian mushik, who is so far from us in every respect. Imagine a human being born and reared in a primitive rural community in entire dependence of the uncertainties of nature and whims and fancies of an awkward, antediluvial, cruel and wasteful police-state and state-church. Nature and social conditions both work in the direction of creating deep dissatisfaction and recognition of the uselessness of all individual efforts to find the source of the evil, its causes and remedies against it. The Russian peasant, on account of his

dense ignorance, is not able to correct the irregularities of nature by artificial irrigation and fertilization of the soil. He is brought up in deep, slavish reverence for all authority, state and church. He silently, like a Roman gladiator, dies of starvation and submits without grumbling to all the extortions in blood and money of the Czar's government.

The man with the hoe is not a beast, but a poor, suffering, thinking human being. He cannot fail to see that there is evil, and much of it, in the world. The powers confronting him are the state and its handmaid, the church. Is it not natural that the Russian jumps at the conclusion that the state is intrinsically, essentially an evil, the work of the anti-Christ? The conclusion that the church is an evil is, however, modified by the intense religious instincts of the Slavic race. The Russian peasant can create for himself, and as a matter of fact does create for himself, another better religion, than that presented by the official state church in the shape of numerous semi-rationalistic sects. He, however, does not know of any government but that of the Czar. Hence his religious, unconscious anarchism. Ages of submission and enslavement to the dominant classes on one side and a healthy idealism and touching faith in the ultimate victory of light and truth over darkness and falsehood inherent in the soul of the man with the hoe, are the sources of the obviously absurd maxims of non-resistance to evil. The Russian Mushik is a truth-seeker by nature and inclination, but he gropes in the dense darkness of ignorance and superstition.

Count Leo Tolstoi is only the spokesman of the plain Russian peasant. He does not believe in science, because it has not so far benefitted the man with the hoe; he denies art for the same reason; he fights the institutional church, but finds himself in accord with the original teachings of the genuine religion of the man with the hoe, of Jesus of Nazareth; he denies all kinds of government, because it is the very personification of evil in his native land and far from perfection in other countries. The immense physical powers in the command of the Russian ruling classes in the shape of a blindly-obedient, excellently-drilled army, crushing all opposition at its very inception, is the explanation of his non-resistance to evil. The blonde beast philosophy of Nietzsche leaves no hope for the under-man, the plain people. The-man-with-the-hoe

philosophy of Tolstoi preaches submission to the blonde beast. There is perfect harmony between Nietzsche and Tolstoi, in spite of the immense distance dividing them as men and thinkers.

VIII. RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR SOCIALISM.

Religion is a philosophy of life based on intuition, on subjective evidences of our inner consciousness and conscience; a philosophy of life in which emotion and imagination prevail over reason. Religion, may be considered as composed of two principal disciplines. One of these disciplines is the ontological and presents some theory of the non ego, the not ourselves, the outward world at large, its origin, existence and future and the mutual relation between this world at large and men. The other discipline is ethical or moral. It embraces some theory about social institutions, and contains rules and regulations of human conduct corresponding to this theory. The first discipline of religion—the ontological or cosmological—is at present supplanted by scientific philosophy based on an endless array of facts, observations and experiments—the monistic philosophy—in which neither emotion nor imagination play any conspicuous part. The monistic philosophy is gaining more and more ground among scientists and thinkers of all shades of religion and thought, and all religious cosmogenies are classed with myths, as products of the imagination of barbaric or semi-barbaric tribes.

The second discipline of religion, its ethical part, is still of great vital importance as a social power, modifying and regulating human inter-relations and consociations for better or for worse, according to conditions. Science has not succeeded so far in supplanting entirely the subjective intuitional, emotional and imaginative elements of religion by results of objective reasoning and impartial observation and investigation. The so-called humanitarian sciences, the sciences concerning the past, present and future of the human race, as history and sociology will for obvious reasons be the last of all natural sciences to be freed from subjectivity and deductive methods of reasoning. Scientific utilitarianism, as preached by Jeremiah Bentham and John Stuart Mill, and Meliorism propounded by George Eliot, are attempts not crowned with singular success. It does not appeal to human nature.

It is therefore clear that religion may be of great assist-

ance to secular Socialism by arousing the human passion for righteousness, by appealing to race instincts and noble emotions, by directing the imagination to a grand vista of future human bliss and happiness, of heroic deeds, of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, of fame and glory, of immortality. It is in this sense that the greatest agnostic and scientist of the past century, Huxley, said:

"I can conceive the existence of a church in which, week by week, services should be devoted, not to the iteration of abstract propositions in theology, but to the setting before men's minds of an ideal of true, just and pure living.

A place in which those who are weary of the burden of daily cares should find a moment's rest in the contemplation of the higher life, which is possible for all, though attained by so few.

A place in which the man of strife and of business should have time to think how small, after all, are the rewards he covets compared with peace and charity."

Socialism of today is sorely in need of such a church with a great religious prophet at its head.

There is, however, a vast distinction to be made between such an ideal and idealistic religious movement as conceived by Huxley and the institutional churches of today.

Against "Churchianity" we must be warned for another reason than its hollowness and soullessness; its petrification and false pretense; its fostering of prejudices, superstition and narrow sectarian exclusiveness; its intolerance and bigotry; its tendency to side with the powerful and strong and preach slavish virtues to the "humble and lowly" proletarian; its blasphemous attempts to sanctify the crying injustices of the social institutions of their time and country. This reason is the policy of the institutional churches to take hold of irresistible popular movements in order to keep them in check and control them in the interest of the ruling classes. Such an attempt to avert the Socialistic movement into channels desired by the institutional church is represented by the so-called Christian-Socialistic party of Germany, the Socialist-Catholic party and others. Church Socialism in Europe is the worst enemy of secular, political Socialism, especially in Germany and Austria. All kinds of small political tricksters, Jew-baiters and demagogues of the worst kind find refuge in the so-called Christian-Socialist parties,

and turn the term Socialism into a by-word and reproach. This is the reason why Socialism in Europe is outspokenly anti-churchian, and, so far as church and religion are identical, anti-religious.

There is besides this a historical foundation for the antagonism between the church and the proletarian class in the old country. This foundation is the traditional attitude of the institutional church toward all attempts of the so-called lower classes of society to better their condition. The church in Europe was from time immemorial the hand-maid of the state, that means the servile tool of the ruling classes. Not only the Catholic church, but even the most advanced Protestant churches, were inimical to popular revolutions. Even the great German religious reformer, Martin Luther, thundered anathemas at the peasants engaged in riots against their oppressors—the landlord.

The American proletarians may reproach the institutional church of the United States with staunchly supporting negro slavery in the south (and that in the name of the Saviour!) and with showing great indifference to THE social problem of the age, the struggle of wage slaves against economic dependence, social subjection and actual political bondage. American Socialists are therefore justified in their distrust of the attempts of some churchmen to use Socialism to such an extent as to cover all kinds of opinions and absence of opinions on social and economic problems, to emasculate Socialism to such a degree as to make it acceptable to muddle-headed “non-partisan partisans” of silver-plated, back-number reformers like W. J. Bryan. To the preachers of such “blissful social unions” we say: “We fear the Greeks even when they offer presents.”

Socialists are, however, by no means prejudiced against come every sincere and honest attempt to spiritualize the sincere and honest religious Socialism as such. They welldull masses of the people and present to them high ideals and noble precepts of conduct; every sincere and honest endeavor to clarify the visions of the unthinking crowd, obstructed by the intellectual rubbish with which it is lavishly supplied by the subservient pulpit and press; every sincere and honest attempt toward broadening and diffusing Socialism itself into a modern world-redeeming gospel of the human race.

IX. RATIONALISTIC SOCIALISM.

Who made whom? Did the gods create men or men their gods? The prevalent view that Socialism has nothing to do with this and similar problems is far from being correct. Indeed, Socialism, as a philosophy of life, cannot afford to ignore any problems of life, cannot do it with impunity. German Socialists tried, out of considerations of tactics, to dodge religious issues entirely. The appearance of a self-styled "Christian" Socialistic party (a thoroughly disreputable and unprincipled conglomeration of medieval race hatred, religious bigotry and gentry arrogance) was made possible by the systematic silence observed by the bona-fide Socialists on religious matters. Had the German Social Democrats from the start declared for free thought as the only logical understructure of their philosophy of life, had they unequivocally taken the stand that Socialism is founded on the solid rock of human reason and science, had they fairly and squarely propounded agnosticism as the only safe and honest attitude towards the Unknowable, much confusion of ideas as to that for which Socialism actually stands, would have been avoided and eliminated.

We do not intend to say that religious views necessarily hinder a man or woman from sympathizing with Socialistic ideas or even from being an active worker for the cause of Socialism. What we do maintain is that Socialism, being a purely rationalistic movement, a child of modern conditions and modern thought, ought to be emancipated once for all from the hazy mysticism and unhealthy hypnotic influence of neo-Christianity as expounded by some native preachers without congregations, who have heard a voice calling them to spiritualize Socialism. Socialism is not necessarily antagonistic to religion as a moral force. It is rather sorely in need of such a force in order to shake up the mental and moral torpor and inertia of the masses and classes. But consistency with one's own fundamental principles and a regard for truth deserve the first consideration of every honest Socialist. Neo-Christianity has just as little right to be called Socialism as church-Christianity—old and new alike; as far as it contains any rudiments of a social-economic doctrine, it is simply individualism or anarchism. No amount of so-

called higher criticism and exegetic mental or phraseological jugglery can do away with this plain fact. The man who succeeded best in imbibing and expounding the teachings of the prophet of Nazareth, Count Leo Tolstoi, preaches religious anarchism. The American disciples of the great Russian artist and moralist do not openly declare for religious anarchism because they either lack the clearness of vision of their teacher or do not possess his moral courage of convictions. At any rate, the sooner the neo-Christians will honestly show their real color the better for clear-cut rationalistic Socialism.

Let us, however, return to our problem, Who made whom? Natural sciences lead to the conclusion that the God idea appeared as an attempt of men to account for and explain the phenomena of nature in a way and manner corresponding to their mental capacity. The less self-conscious and critical the mind of men was, the more subjective, the more human-like were their conceptions of natural forces. For a savage the field, the forest, mountain and lake—the whole of nature—are the abode of friendly or inimical human-like beings or Gods. This is the origin of polytheism. The recognition of the unity of all natural forces by the higher semitic races resulted in the one-God idea, or monotheism. The personal deity of the advanced races retained, however, even to our days, its human-like character. The great thinker, Spinoza, renounced the idea of a personal deity and declared all the world as divine. This all-God idea, or pantheism, is, a somewhat refined negation of the God idea in general. The greatest modern scientists have come to the conclusion that neither the existence nor the non-existence of a personal deity can be demonstrated by proofs of our senses. They therefore declared all speculations in favor or against God ideas to be beyond the scope of the human mind and consequently to be futile and purposeless.

This honest and candid admission of the limitation of human mind, called agnosticism, is the proper point of view for all rational Socialists to maintain. The real material world around and in us ought to be and is our field of activity. The arduous task of making the real material world a habitable place for the highest possible type of humanity is great enough to occupy all our attention. Agnosticism is entirely in accord and harmony with evolutionary or monistic

philosophy and consequently with Socialistic doctrines. Neo-Christianity, or Christ's Christianity as it is styled by Count Leo Tolstoi and his followers, is not of this world. It does not care about the human mortal frame and its physical well-being. It preaches humility, forbearance, passive submission to evil, meekness—all virtues of slavery and bondage. It wants peace at any price and advocates charity instead of social justice. It indulges in a morbid idealization of physical wretchedness and suffering as an atonement for sins in the eyes of a cruel human-like deity. It puts a premium on spiritual poverty and exults in the suppression of all natural human instincts of love for kith and kin in favor of a mystical, slavish submission to the supposed will of a man-made, supernatural, heavenly being. Even in its alleged cardinal principle—love to humanity in general—it goes beyond the limits of the normal human mind in advocating love to those who are our foes. Christianity is thoroughly pessimistic. It does not believe in the inherent force and nobility of human nature, but always insists on its weakness, frailty and wickedness.

That such a philosophy has nothing in common with the thoroughly optimistic, healthy and vigorous Socialistic movement of our day, must be obvious to any unprejudiced mind. In fact, Christianity cannot be harmonized with the monistic philosophy. Christianity represents an entirely different cycle of ideas and conceptions than modern monistic philosophy and must of necessity be diametrically opposed to modern Socialism, which is nothing else but the application of monism or evolution to society as an organization of men. To combine the terms Christianity and Socialism is just as sensible as to combine the terms Anarchism and Socialism. One excludes the other as its antithesis, its negation. Christian-Socialism is a contradiction in terms, a misnomer, as much so as Anarchistic-Socialism would be.

Socialism, as we stated before, is sorely in need of a moral or religious force. But such a religious force must be and actually is gradually being developed in a thoroughly rationalistic idealism, full of vigor and faith in the inherent nobility and great future of the human race here on our mother earth; in a self-sacrificing passion for social-economic justice in human society; in a tender sympathy with all downtrodden and dispossessed children of toil; in a hatred of all evil and

wrong in human interrelations; in a fierce contempt of all false pretense, shams, hypocrisy and conventional lies permeating our present mercantile civilization; in an arduous desire for a nobler, higher, more truly human culture. Such a religion of a divine humanity, moving onward and onward on the highroad of physical and spiritual perfection, is the religion of Socialism.

X. THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT AS VIEWED BY THE SOCIALIST.

At the time of the earthly career of Jesus of Nazareth, two rival schools of learning flourished in Judea. Rabbi Shamy stood at the head of one of these schools and Rabbi Hillel of the other. A heathen once came to Shamy and asked him: "Tell me, teacher, the essence of your science while I am standing on one leg." The rabbi chased away the infidel in anger and disgust. The inquisitive heathen then went to Rabbi Hillel and repeated his request to him. "Gladly, my son," replied the sage, "the essence of our teaching is—love your neighbor as yourself—all the rest is only a commentary." Do not get scared, dear readers! I am not going to preach a sermon.

I have related this beautiful story only as a striking illustration of laconic brevity.

Now—if some modern infidel would ask the writer of these lines to tell him the essential difference between the philosophy of life of the past and future while he was standing on one leg—he would get the following reply: "The old philosophy of life may be expressed in the sentence: I do believe in spite of its absurdity (*credo quia absurdum est*); while the new philosophy of life may be expressed in the sentence: I exist because I think (*cogito ergo sum*)." Faith was the watchword of the past, reason shall be the guide of the future. To doubt was a crime in the good olden time, to criticise and test the truth of all phenomena of life shall be the moral duty of the future.. Tradition and authority constituted the bulwark of the past, knowledge shall be the cornerstone of the future. Man was considered by our forefathers a mere toy in the hands of capricious deities. Science emancipated man from the phantoms of his own imagination and showed him the way to be master of his own destinies.

This radical change going on in the minds of men could not fail to affect in its turn the domain of ethics.

"Thou shalt do this, or abstain from that, because the Deity has ordered it. Woe to those who transgress this command. But those who obey shall be rewarded." Such is in a nutshell the view of the past on practical ethics. To the ad-

vanced thinker of our sceptical age, however, such motives are puerile. **HUMAN HAPPINESS ON EARTH IS THE PURPOSE AND AIM OF MODERN ETHICS.** Indeed modern ethics are unthinkable without the knowledge of the laws governing the relations between men and as members of society.

Says Herbert Spencer: "From the sociological point of view ethics becomes nothing else than a definite account of the forms of conduct that are fitted to the associated state, in such wise, that the lives of each and all may be the greatest possible, alike in length and breadth." This definition emphasizes two points: the utilitarian foundation of ethics and its essentially social nature. Professor John Dewey of Chicago goes so far as to affirm that morality is nothing else but sociability.

The theory of ethics is two-sided, psychological and social. The psychological side has to do with the individual, the social side with his relations to his fellow-men. Biologically speaking the starting-point of morals or morality is simultaneous with the appearance of intelligence; that is, the faculty of reasoning in conjunction with some knowledge of nature, however rude and imperfect. Ultimate moral forces and motives are nothing more nor less than social intelligence, the power of observing and comprehending social situations and powers. Professor DaGarmo of Pennsylvania calls the moral type of men, the social type. According to his definition, the moral type is distinguished by its readiness to participate in group activity for the common good.

The emancipation of ethics from the tenets of old creeds and its reconstruction on a purely rational foundation was a great step forward on the road of human progress.

Rational ethics consists of two disciplines: the science or theory of conduct, and the art or practice of conduct. The science of ethics leads even such strictly individualistic thinkers as Herbert Spencer to the recognition of the purely social character of ethics. More unbiased authorities, as we have partly seen, identify ethics with social virtues in general. In other words the theory of ethics by the force of logic leads to Socialism in its broadest sense just as inevitably as the study of natural sciences lead to hygiene and prophylactic medicine. Still closer is the relation between the art of conduct and Socialism. As it is impossible for the human body to be and

remain healthy in an anti-hygienic environment, practical ethics or moral health is an impossibility in a state of society whose institutions are built on an essentially immoral foundation and impregnated with the miasma of the animal struggle for existence. In such a society ethics of necessity must be a snare and delusion, a hypocritical cant and a fruitless endeavor. Socialism alone will make right conduct possible by creating social institutions and conditions in the highest degree favorable to the development of the human mind and character.

Those who look upon Socialism as an artificial scheme, concocted by a few speculative economists, with the exclusive purpose of improving the material condition of a certain class—however large in numbers and worthy of sympathy—have too narrow a view of the movement, its depth, scope and breadth. Socialism is the inevitable result of the organic growth and evolution of human mind. It is an historical necessity, as were cannibalism, slavery, serfdom and the present social system (or utter absence of any rational system). Rational beings like men are bound by nature to manage their affairs on strictly rational principles. Socialism means nothing else but the reconstruction and management of all social affairs according to the principles of science, reason and ethics. The economic side of the Socialistic doctrine, although at present the most prominent, is not by any means all there is in it. Socialism is in no way merely a class movement, although at present for obvious reasons it is identified with the special interests of the industrial proletariat. Socialism is essentially a humanitarian movement—broad as humanity and deep as the mystery of life. Socialism aims at the abolition of all class distinctions among men, and has in view all interests of men, moral, mental, aesthetical, as well as economic. The ideals of Socialism are not limited by any artificial lines or classifications. They are the ideals of humanity, the ideals of right living, of bodily health, of intellectual development, of a happy, harmonious, beautiful life on earth, of a life worth living. Socialism teaches people to consider themselves and others not only as individuals, but as integral parts of the human race, as heirs of the treasures left by generations gone by, and responsible predecessors of future generations.

Can there be a conception more beautiful, true and elevat-

ing? How small and insignificant our fate as individuals appears in comparison with the fate of humanity, an infinitesimal social part of which we constitute! But once we recognize as paramount the interests of the race to which we belong, our significance as workers, however humble and weak, in the interests of the race grows and widens, and life acquires a new, richer, broader and deeper meaning..

When a new idea is born into the world, it meets with a cold reception. The parents of new ideas are stamped as fools, charlatans, and cranks. They are subjected to social ostracism, persecuted, and sometimes deprived of life. Nevertheless its inherent power and harmony make a new idea self-sustaining. It thrives, grows and blossoms into beauty in spite of all unfavorable circumstances and influences. Just these inherent qualities gradually win for it more and more friends, even in the headquarters of its most bitter enemies—among the “upper ten thousand,” the so-called “respectable people.” This stage however, is fraught with the utmost danger for young ideas. In order to be acceptable to respectable people, the new idea has to undergo a certain process of remodelling agreeable to the tastes of the new converts. It is thrown into the straight-jacket of conventionality, trimmed, polished, painted and perfumed like a faded beauty. All its originality and reality is carefully eliminated and cast off. Deprived of its simple but genuine shape, it loses its original vigor, not unlike Sampson, after his hair was cut off by his Philistine wife. And what then?

Every one of us has had a chance to observe curious petrifications, representing in their outward appearance some plant or animal. How did these curious phenomena take place in the workshop of nature? The organic substance of the animal or plant, particle by particle, was displaced by mineral substance. The outward appearance of the fossil testifies silently, but eloquently, that in times gone by the curious body really lived.

The once tender, highly complex structure and mysterious molecular activity, or if you choose to call it so, the “soul,” has vanished never to return again, while the stone is left. Phenomena of that kind are not limited to nature alone. We meet them in the domain of human psychology in the shape of fossilized ideas. Do not petrified dogmas replace the

living soul of once young and buoyant religious creeds? The living Gods have turned into so many dead idols.

Allow me now to ask a few pertinent questions. Is not the rationalistic ethical movement confronted by the danger of becoming a sharer in the sad fate of other creeds, founded on the one solid rock of human emotion and fancy?

Shall we not be alarmed by the marked tendency of the ethical movement to grow "respectable," to suit the tastes of the refined few? Is not the ethical movement showing a tendency to degenerate into a rationalistic sect with dogmatic morality as its confession of faith?

Do not many ethical culturists look upon the apostle of individualism, Herbert Spencer, as their Messiah, and his Principles of Ethics as their Bible?

According to their views, there are no social, no economic, even no political problems to solve. The only thing necessary is to be moral in private life. All the rest will somehow and sometime regulate itself automatically. A very optimistic theory indeed—personal morality as a panacea against all evils. Let all people be personally moral, and the world will turn into a paradise and in the most peaceful manner. There will be no more bloody revolutions, no artificial legislation, no complex social institutions, even no expensive governments necessary. How puerile, but how "conservative," and therefore "respectable!" The personal morality theory seems to be indeed a splendid foundation for the shaly philosophical palace of "laissez faire."

Ask some of the extreme individualists in the movement: "What are ethical societies for?" and you will hear some such reply as this: "Ethical societies are a kind of asylums for unchurched people, a kind of ethical dormitories."

The writer was a close observer of the convention of the American Ethical Union, held at Milwaukee in 1898. All the lights of the movement, Dr. F. Adler, New York; W. L. Sheldon, St. Louis; P. Chubb, New York; Wm. M. Salter, Chicago; S. B. Weston, Philadelphia; Dr. John Elliott, New York, and others, took part in the exercises of the convention.

The oratorical feast extended to various topics. "The Message of the Ethical Movement to the Religious Nature of Man," "Its Relation to Emerson and to Free Religion," "Its Relation to the Liberal Movement in America," "Its Relation to Orthodox Religion," "Club work among Men and Boys in

the Tenement House Districts," "Self-culture methods among Working Poeples," "The Contribution of Ethical Societies to Philanthropy," "The Mission of the Ethical Movement," were the subjects treated more or less exhaustively by the speakers of the convention. The confession of faith in the movement was distinctly stated by the various representatives and delegates. Dr. Felix Adler, the founder of the movement, claimed for it the endeavor to create a demand for social reforms by educating the children in ethical schools. He advised employers to look upon their business as a social function, a sacred duty imposed upon them by society. The employer should consider himself the priest of the industrial church.

A very euphonious phrase! Was it dense ignorance of the actual social and economical conditions of our time or deliberate begging of the question?

Does not the learned doctor know the beautiful flower of our industrial anarchy, called competition? Does he not know that one swallow cannot make a summer?

Does he not know that it is not the free will or whim of the employers, but the iron laws of the present industrial system, which crush the industrial proletariat?

An employer must treat his employees in the same way as his fellow employers in his branch of production or trade treat theirs, or else go out of business. He is a slave of the capitalist system, just as much as the common laborer, although a somewhat favored slave. He is the turnkey of the industrial prison.

Still more peculiar was the assertion that it is necessary to create a demand for social reforms by the aid of schools connected with ethical societies. Deep dissatisfaction with the existing social and economical conditions is one of the most prominent features of our time. There is a nervous restlessness even among the representatives of our shoddy aristocracy. The whole civilized world is literally craving for economic and social reforms. But now our learned doctor steps forward and proclaims: "Patience! you naked, starving, freezing, persecuted and exploited children of toil and misfortune. Wait till we shall create a demand for social reforms." Humanity has to play the part of the camel, to be driven through the narrow eye of the needle, represented by the only school existing in connection with the New York

Ethical Society, in order to make social reforms possible. Poor humanity!

That this line of argument was not an accidental slip of the tongue is obvious to me for the following reason. A few years ago I happened to listen to a lecture delivered by another light of the movement, Mr. Mangasarian. Touching upon the labor problem, he implored employers to give their wage slaves more leisure. And for what purpose? For the study of classics. "What a consolation it would be for the scavengers or collectors of garbage, during the fulfillment of their laborious and unpleasant duties to recite passages of Homer, Virgil and Cicero!" And Mr. Mangasarian did not even smile when he uttered these absurdities before a numerous and supposedly enlightened audience in Chicago.

But another assertion by Dr. Adler is still more astounding. He claimed that many social reformers undermine morality by criticizing the bourgeois morality. They should limit themselves to the criticism of the narrow-mindedness of the application of the principles of morality by the middle class, but respect the principles themselves. Now is that not simply delicious? We should like to have those reformers who undermine morality called by their names. As far as we are informed, the foundation of all reformatory movements has always been a deep ethical current passing through society. An immoral reformer is a contradiction in terms, a nothing. One could well expect that the founder and leader of a new movement would be better informed on common social subjects or at least be more guarded in the expression of his opinions.

Dr. John Elliot was another delegate of the convention, who proved his ignorance of Socialism by claiming that it is a purely materialistic movement. He said that the Socialists were mistaken in expecting a millenium by satisfying the material needs of man, in ignoring his spiritual interests. Nothing is further from the truth than this assertion. Socialism as stated before, is only apparently an economic movement. But its moving power, as well as its final aims and purposes, are purely ethical, and therefore spiritual par excellence. Be it far from us Socialists to condemn any line of honest endeavor to elevate manhood and womanhood to a higher level only because the people engaged in it do not agree with our views on social activity. The convention in

the main produced a very favorable impression. The delegates were all enlightened, enthusiastic and broad-minded people with pronouncedly humanitarian inclinations. The more the pity that they fail to see the fallacy of so-called individual morality.

What individual morality means is simply a tendency to avoid unnecessary friction among members of society. Society is to a certain extent a complex mechanism, whose constituent parts are its members. The less perfect the social organization, the more obvious is the necessity of avoiding friction, and vice versa, the more perfect the social organism, the less apparent is the necessity of avoiding friction. The analogy between social and mechanical friction is complete. The poorer the construction of a machine, the more lubricating oil it needs. Friction is a property of matter and cannot be eliminated entirely, but may be reduced to a minimum by a skillful application of mechanical principles. In the Socialistic state of society there will be very little use for the lubricating oil of personal morality. But socialism is impossible without social ethics, just as complete social ethics is impossible in our present individualistic stage of culture.

The advanced science of sociology will furnish the practical statesmen of the future with sufficient data to invent new methods of organization and co-operation, just as mechanics enables the constructors of machines to make them more and more perfect. Social dynamics are, however, infinitely more complex than mechanics. "Mind is the highest quality of matter, as society is the highest product of evolution of matter," says Lester Ward, the greatest sociologist in the United States. Society therefore depends on the mind. Ethics is an inherent part of the human mind. Not only the lowest human races, but even animals have some conceptions about right and wrong. Ideas about ethics evolve along with society, and Socialism—as the highest stage of social evolution—will make the realization of high moral ideals possible.

Recognizing the utility of the ethical movement in our time of sordid selfishness, we however think that much of its energy will be wasted as long as it fails to grasp the interdependence between the conduct of men and their social environment.

Another stumbling-block of ethical societies, is their—per-

haps unintentional—social exclusiveness.. The people—the toiling class—are not attracted by these societies to any appreciable extent. The ethical society of the people will be the child of a brighter future, when education, enlightenment, and culture will not be monopolized by a few, but accessible to all alike. The ethical society of the people will be the Socialistic state of society.

XI. IS SOCIALISM MATERIALISTIC?

"Socialism is grossly materialistic. It eliminates from human nature everything human and preaches the brutal gospel of the stomach. Socialists are after the fleshpots of Egypt, but protest against Egyptian labor. They are the vandals of modern times. Religion, the fine arts, aesthetics, ethics and idealism, are according to their views nothing else but the sickly outgrowth of a transitory stage of society. Let everybody have enough to eat and to drink, provide everybody with homesteads, and other means of subsistence, and humanity's salvation; the millennium of highest bliss possible on earth, will be an accomplished fact." Such is the alleged ultimatum of Socialism. Such are the harangues against Socialism met with in the general press, on the pulpit and political platform.

It is hard to tell how many of these accusations against Socialism originate from the ignorance and prejudice of the opponents of our doctrine and how much of it is conscious slander, deliberate calumny, of a hated, feared, new and growing power. In both cases, however, the result is the same. The indolent crowd lends a ready ear to all that is brought forth against the new teaching. And many an otherwise well informed and fairminded man demonstrates a marked inability to grasp the real meaning and import of these accusations and takes them on credit. Indeed it is so easy to take somebody's assertion for granted even if need be with a grain of salt! And life is too short to investigate matters and arrive at conclusions independently of what Tom, Dick and Harry present as evidence! Is it to be wondered at, that the mere sound "Socialism," seems to have an almost shocking effect on the ear of many cultured men and women of our enlightened age? You may present sub rosa the most radical Socialistic doctrine and an enlightened audience will listen spell-bound to your expositions and arguments, and will show the deepest interest and sympathy. But as soon as you allow the sound "Socialism" to slip from your lips the spell will be at once broken and the majority of your attentive and sympathetic listeners will stare at you and feel, or pretend to feel scandalized. Obviously not the doctrine produced that effect, but

the prejudices aroused and nourished by accusations of the kind before mentioned.

It is our privilege and duty to disprove the truth of the imputation that Socialism is materialistic, in any except the philosophical, or rather historic sense of the term.

What is materialism? There is a materialistic philosophy of the universe. There is a materialistic philosophy of human life, and finally there is a materialistic philosophy of the history of humankind. Of which of these materialisms is Socialism guilty?

The materialistic philosophy of the universe is now accepted as the only scientific view of the subject. Its essence is briefly stated as follows. Matter is conceived as composed of small physical particles, which are moved in obedience to merely physical principles, and, being themselves without sensations, may produce sensations and thought by particular forms of their combinations. Sensations do not exist independent of matter, and have to be considered only as the effects of ordinary material changes.

The opposite school of philosophy maintains however, that we know the world only through our perceptions and consequently cannot know how things are related to each other, outside our perceptions. The extreme idealists do not suppose that there is anything—by and for itself—per se without its corresponding to our conceptions of things. For instance, if we perceive a tree we may be sure, that,—except in relation to the eye, into which it sends its rays,—the tree has no existence. The tree is only a phenomenon of our sense of vision and not a thing in itself.. This idealistic conception of the world around us is obviously metaphysical and consequently unscientific. Even if we should admit for the sake of argument, that the tree, as a thing in itself, does not exist—still for all practical purposes the tree exists for us and all arguing to the contrary is idle hairsplitting.

Obviously the materialistic philosophy of the universe has very little, if any, bearing at all on social problems. Sociology has for its subject not so much the world at large: with its innumerable atoms, stars, ether and boundless spaces, as the species *homo sapiens* inhabiting our minute planet. And Socialism is but the practical application of Sociological principles to actual life, the art of living in society. The

materialistic conception of the world has even very little, if any at all bearings on the philosophy of human life, as a basis of conduct. I may for instance be convinced that nothing exists but our conception of things in our consciousness, i. e., be an extremely idealistic ontologist, and still be the most unscrupulous exploiter of the weak and poor, the most cruel and profligate husband, in fact a monster of depravity. And inversely—I may be certain, that nothing exists but matter and be the personification of altruism, the best member of society, the embodiment of the highest ideal of humanity. Idealism, and materialism as the foundations of the philosophy of human life, are entirely independent of ontological idealism and materialism. The terms have an entirely different meaning in these two different cases.

Before, however, we try to investigate how far, if at all, Socialism preaches or is conducive to a materialistic philosophy of life, and consequently unethical conduct, it seems expedient to find out whether Socialism is guilty of expounding a materialistic philosophy of history. Is this a just accusation against Socialism? In answer to that question Socialism must step forward before the tribunal of its judges and proclaim "*Mea culpa! mea maxima culpa!*" Yes, Socialism did it through the agency of its foremost and most brilliant champion—Karl Marx. Let us now candidly explain how and why it was done. The Socialism of the Utopian period tried to propagate their ideas by appealing to the higher sentiments of love, sympathy and compassion with the persecuted, weak and down trodden, they attempted to win the aid of the current religious ideas and recognized ethical principles—but all in vain.

The social and economic development and structure of society was not in the least influenced by this generous appeal to the higher human emotions. The economic and social institutions were, and remained imbued with grossly materialistic spirit (in the most common sense of the word) and the principle *homo homini lupus* reigned supreme after, just as before the activity of the Utopian Socialists started. The so-called classical school of national economy sanctioned by its apparent superior wisdom and scientific dignity the exploitation of the many by the few, the masses by the classes, the weak by the strong, the honest by the unscrupulous. The new science totally eliminated from human nature every-

thing human and preached the gospel of the stomach in all its egotistic brutality. The economists considered it quite appropriate and normal, that the valiant few should take possession of the valuable flesh-pots of Egypt, of production and distribution, while the non valiant masses should bear all the burden of the Egyptian slave labor and feed on the morsel of crumbs falling from the overlaid table of their employers and exploiters. The classical economists ignored entirely religion, the fine arts, aesthetics, ethics as irrelevant to the material well being of nations. They were deeply concerned about the wealth of nations, balance of trade, etc., but did not care a particle about the fate of those who created this wealth and balance of trade. Man was to them an abstract being endowed with the insatiable desire to accumulate wealth for the nation, and this accumulation was considered as the most desirable of all human pursuits. The new science advocated the wildest individualism; declared competition the life of trade and rejected interference in economic affairs on behalf of the materially weaker as injurious to the wealth of nations—their fetish.

That the economic structure of society is subjected to laws of evolution similar to those ruling the entire organic world was only dimly recognized by the leading economists, whose climax of wisdom concentrated itself in the purely negative maxim—let alone (lesser fair, lesser passer). The historical perspective was totally absent in their treatises on economic problems. The historical science properly did not want to know anything about national economic factors in its turn. The only factors it did recognize were petty court intrigues, wars, dynastic rivalries, religious fanaticism and racial antagonism. The narrowness and one sidedness of economics ignoring history and history ignoring economics, is just as glaring a phenomenon as the lamentable divorce between national economy and Sociology. All these three sciences are necessarily supplementary to each other. No rational historian can get along without the knowledge of economics and Sociology. And the same is true in relation to the Sociologist and economist respecting history.

Karl Marx was the first critical Socialist. He was the first to meet the classical economists, the defenders of the existing social and economic structure with all its cannibal-like brutality, on their own ground and to fight them with

their own weapon. It was and is still an heroic strife, the battle is still undecided as far as actual conditions are concerned, but the theoretical, scientific victory is undoubtedly on the side of Karl Marx and his school. Marx recognized the futility of Utopian phantasma and sentimental appeals from the part of a lamb to the wolf. He talked to the wolves in their own dialect and showed them sharper and stronger claws and teeth of logic and knowledge than they ever possessed. He considered the world, or rather the historical life of nations and the problems of individual existence, from the standpoint of physiological evolution according to natural laws.

Certain modes of economic activity correspond to certain social stages of development with certain political, religious, moral, literary, philosophical and artistic features. With the change of these modes of economic life are closely connected changes in all other activities of a nation. That theory he applied to the modern conflict between capital and labor and arrived at generally known conclusions. Only a superficial student of Marx' and Engels' works will not notice that below the cool, deliberate, almost mathematically precise, reasoning of the scientist there is hidden a warm human breast, a heart aglow with love for the human race and burning with righteous indignation at the injustice and beastly exploitation of the weak by the strong.

This love for the human race and higher ethical ideals are the real keynotes to all of Marx's and Engel's scientific researches and political activity. The same is true in respect to Lassalle and other Socialist leaders of note. That they stepped forward mainly and apparently exclusively as economists was not their fault. This was the only way to reach their purpose in a time when all considerations of justice and right are subjected to economic problems of gain, loss, profit, rent, interest. Not the Socialists created this grossly materialistic spirit of our times. The Socialists want to abolish profit, rent, interest, this unholy trinity of our economic system, in the name of the higher interests of the race. But in order to combat that unholy trinity successfully they have had to do it as economists.

It is true, that Socialism demands before all, economic justice, social rights actually equal for all human beings, with-

out any distinction of race, sex or material wealth; it wants a true democracy. But I defy anybody to prove to us that Socialism considers the inauguration of this minimum of material justice and equality as its final goal and highest aim and purpose. Quite the reverse of it is true. Socialism recognizes that only after economic and social justice is inaugurated can the higher development of the race begin. And is it not a recognized fact that only those nations and classes reach the highest point in science, philosophy, fine arts, which enjoy a certain degree of economic security and independence? Is it not true that material want and the feeling of insecurity of daily bread for one's self and family tend to produce a stifling effect on human ambition and lead inevitably to the atrophy of mental and spiritual interests? Is not material need brutalizing and degrading?

We leave it to the kind reader to decide whom deserve more the imputations of gross materialism.

On one side we have the individualists, who preach the zoological bellum omnium contra omnes, the war of all against all, and non-interference of society, who advocate the chaotic play of social or rather anti-social forces, who put might before right and even affirm that might is right, who consider selfishness as the best guide of social conduct and sole basis of economic activity, who put a premium on low cunning, reckless speculation and unscrupulous exploitation of men by men, who wash their hands in human blood and indirectly feed on human flesh and marrow.

On the other hand we see the raceists, or Socialists, who consider the interests (all the interests—the spiritual as well as the material)—of humanity as a whole, the interests of the masses as paramount, who look upon every man as a unit of society (in the broadest and deepest sense of the word), who advocate harmony and brotherhood between those units of society, who proclaim the solidarity of the interests of all men, who substitute co-operation for competition, who preach altruism as the wisest and safest basis of social conduct, who maintain that right is superior to might, who by a rational reconstruction of society want to do away with every incentive of selfishness, who despise low cunning, who consider speculation with the products of human labor as

criminal, who are always to be found in the tents of those perishing for the great cause of human love and reason.

It is necessary to argue now as to what may or must be the bearing of the Socialistic doctrine on the philosophy of life and consequently on human conduct? Who is more likely to devote his activity and energy to materialistic pursuits—the gain of wealth, for its own sake and by any means, the egotistic enjoyment of this ill-gained wealth in gluttony, drunkenness and other dissipations—the individualists or the Socialists? Which of these two types of our present age is more likely to devote his life to the disinterested service in the cause of the human race, to acquirement of knowledge, to lead a life of high thinking and pure esthetic enjoyment? Which of these two types is more likely to develop into a high type of humanity?

Far from being exclusively an economic theory of society Socialism is preeminently an ethical movement. Mr. L. Duncan, the lecturer of the Milwaukee Ethical Society, said in one of his brilliant addresses concerning Socialism:

“But probably the most characteristic expression of the social movement, and the one which is exercising the deepest and widest influence in its methods and institutions, is Socialism. Socialism, whatever else one may think or say about it, is aflame with the humanitarian passion. It is painfully aware of the economic injustice and social destitution and their concomitant miseries, which have obtained under the prevailing system of industry and forms of government, and aims at the reconstruction of society upon lines which it believes will insure to every man equal rights and equal opportunities with every other, to a happy and harmonious development of all his powers that will make life worth living. It conditions the development of such a life upon the equality of political and economic rights, charges the prevailing inequalities and social miseries to the private ownership of the means of production and distribution and looks for the remedy in the abolition of such private ownership, and substitution of collective ownership and control. The motive which animates that movement and the aims and purposes to which it addresses itself, are humanitarian, the desire to increase human happiness and well being, to make better men and women, and among the aims and purposes which Socialism hopes to realize through its methods, and chief among

them, is the development of a higher type of manhood and womanhood, not simply a better fed and better dressed animal, but an intellectually enlightened and morally strong human being, able and willing to live a good life and to contribute his full share towards making the good life possible to others. The fact that the methods of Socialism are so exclusively political and economic arises from the theory which pervades its philosophy, namely, that the good life is practically impossible under wrong social conditions and that to make possible the most desirable type of moral manhood, the social conditions and institutions most favorable to the right development of the human mind and character must first be created. This, Socialism, by its methods, promises to do."

Such is the opinion of a thoughtful outsider on our movement. There is so far no written philosophy of the Socialistic movement and every new thought and new point of view advanced by candid observers and students of society is highly welcome. We, therefore need to deepen and broaden the scope of Socialistic thought and sentiment and build up our system of philosophy with care and deliberation as good social architects.

XII. ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CAPITALISM.

Human society is subjected to the same laws of evolution and devolution, development and decay, organization and disorganization, as the rest of the organic world. All institutions of human society are of a transitory character, they develop, grow and succeed each other according to certain laws. Cannibalism was succeeded by slavery, slavery by serfdom, serfdom by free individual production, individual production by socialized manufacture, and at last by machine production, the prevalent mode of production in our own time.

Socialism is the advance agent of a higher stage of moral evolution, of economic freedom based on socialized production of economic democracy, as the true and only safe foundation of political democracy. Socialism stands on the firm ground of monistic philosophy and regards society from a purely scientific point of view. It recognizes that there was a time when slavery was a progressive institution in comparison with cannibalism; that serfdom was the legitimate heir of slavery, when the last outlived its utility; that individual production in its primitive stage had to be succeeded by some more economic mode of socialized production, and that the modern machine production is a perfectly natural successor of the previous stage of economic social activity. There is not one clear-sighted, or, if you please, critical socialist, who would advocate the return to individual production. All the enumerated types or stages of social life have two aspects—a purely economic and a broader, sociological one. Slavery, for instance, may be looked upon as an economic phenomenon on one hand and as a social institution on the other. The so-called classical school of economists—Adam Smith, Ricardo and others—refused to see in social life anything but its economic functions. . Society was to them a somewhat loose conglomeration of abstracts economic units, bent on creating national wealth. They recognized only one all-absorbing social force—greed. This metaphysical and Utopian view was rejected by the founders of critical Socialism—Roderich Jager and Marx. Recognizing the economic factor as the fundamental principle of human history, they, however, pointed out that, as the Sabbath is for men and not men for the Sab-

bath, wealth is only a means to human happiness, not a purpose in itself. According to the spirit of their teachings, the interests of the producers of wealth are paramount, while wealth itself, its production or preservation, are matters of secondary consideration.

Critical Socialism rejected the idolatry of the fetish of the material wealth of nations, this modern Moloch on the golden altar of which the middle class or vulgar economists were and are ready to sacrifice the creators of this very wealth. Critical Socialism raised its voice for the human rights of the laboring class—the proletariat—by pointing out that society is not a mere conglomeration of abstract economic units, but a consociation of living human beings; that the laws governing human society are far more complex than the vulgar economists supposed. In other terms, modern Socialism insisted on the recognition of the broader, sociological aspect of different stages of social life. Capitalistic production from the purely economic point of view represents the highest stage ever attained, if we take in consideration the ratio between the amount of human energy expended and the results attained in respect to the commodities produced. The middle class economists indulge in eulogies of this system of production. Socialists study and demonstrate the results of this mode of production on the producers themselves. They prove that capitalist production, being the most perfect system of exploitation of men by men, is practically the most refined species of cannibalism in disguise.

We can easily imagine socialized machine production in a state of society where society at large will own the means of production, where the raw material and tools of production (including land) will be public property. Socialism is not opposing the economic, but the social element of capitalism, because this social element, the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, turn capitalism into cannibalism, into a curse to humanity. Substitute collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, and socialized machine production will turn into a blessing to humanity.

Though capitalism is the most perfect system of exploitation of men by men, it is by no means the only mode of exploitation of men by men, in the annals of history. Exploitation existed long before capitalism, and may exist in one form or another

long after capitalistic exploitation shall be a thing of the past. Capitalism, historically considered, is only a phase of the mercantile or profit system, of subservience of the human personality to the things created for satisfying his needs. Aside from slavery, serfdom and wage bondage, exploitation is the essential element of any state of society where commodities are produced, not for use, but for profit. In an ideal state of society, like that advocated by Socialism, there will be no place for profit. Society will own and operate all its means of production with the single object in view of satisfying in the most rational way the needs of its individual members.

Capitalism is one of the many phases of social life through which humanity had to pass on its triumphant advance to higher culture and civilization. There was a time when capitalism was progressive and useful, being instrumental in training the proletariat in the noble art of socialized production. The day, however, is fast approaching when the proletariat will be ready to take possession of all the economic functions of society and operate them in the interests of society at large and eliminate the capitalistic class as an entirely useless and superfluous element.

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XIII. CAPITALISM AND LIBERTY; FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND RACE CONSCIOUSNESS.

The capitalistic mode of production leads inevitably to the socialization of industries. The gigantic scale of application in our time of the principle of combination of individual fortunes for the purpose of the exploitation of organized and unorganized labor, in the shape of stock companies and trusts, is a phenomenon of far-reaching importance and of deep significance as a transitory stage of socialization. The individualistic principle of competition is gradually superseded by its opposite. The purpose of stock companies and trusts is to eliminate entirely the element of competition and substitute co-operation and combined action.

The socialization of economic activities under the capitalistic regime, however, is accomplished in the interests of one class and to the detriment of the race in general. The capitalistic class takes advantage of the applied principles of socialization in its own interest. Capitalists are one-sided Socialists. They strenuously oppose any attempt to apply the principle of socialization in the interests of the people at large and the working class in particular. Out of mere selfishness they preach, for popular use, the gospel of individualism and hypocritically erect altars to the fetish of liberty, viz. the competition of the economically weak among themselves. Indeed the more competition there is among the unorganized and economically weak, the easier it will be for the socialized and economically strong to exploit the former. This is obvious enough. The strange thing, however, is that many superficial thinkers try to deduct socialistic principles from the anarchistic principle of liberty. They somehow do not distinguish between two entirely different terms—freedom and liberty; and this leads them into an abyss of confusion of thought.

Liberty is an individualistic ideal, while freedom is a truly Socialistic ideal. Socialists wish to abolish capitalistic liberty and inaugurate freedom, by the means of an all-sided and complete socialization of economic functions in the interests of the whole race.

What is liberty? In the first instance, it is a mere negation—the absence of open coercion. To build a system of thought on the basis of a mere negative term is a striking absurdity. Suppose someone should attempt to build a system of public hygiene, on the principle of the absence of physical pain. What could be said in favor of such a system? The worshipers at the shrine of the capitalistic and anarchistic fetish, liberty, forget the old truth—that the Sabbath is for men, and not men for the Sabbath. They are never tired of repeating the platitude that men are born for liberty. They forget that liberty is—as it necessarily must be—the deadly foe of freedom. Liberty means the rule of the physically, and economically strong, and the absence of freedom for the rest. Liberty is incompatible with real equality, while freedom is unthinkable without it. Liberty is a principle of the sub-human world, while freedom is a purely human ideal. A tiger is at liberty to kill any animal weaker than himself. A man, however, can be free only in case he lives in a perfectly organized community, where in return for certain functions performed by him in the interests of society, he is assured all the necessities of life and happiness.

Another term derived by Socialists from the capitalistic dictionary is the so-called class consciousness.

If liberty is a fetish of the somewhat muddle-headed neophytes of Socialism, class consciousness is the idol of narrow-minded, dogmatic, pseudo-scientific Socialists of the orthodox type. Dogmatism, orthodoxy and narrow-mindedness, however, are dangerous symptoms of spiritual atrophy and degeneration. There has been and is too much of this among the old school Socialists.

It will be well to analyze the terms class consciousness, and the class struggle, which are so commonplace in the socialistic vocabulary. We have knowledge of the struggle between slave and master, between the privileged classes of the feudal period and the middle class, and we witness now with our own eyes the combat between the middle class and the proletariat. Historically speaking, the class struggle has been and is a mighty dynamic power for good or evil, according to conditions. At certain periods of history, one or

another class represents the interests of the race in general, and the fate of that class is closely linked with the general interests of the race. So the middle class not long ago represented the advance guard of humanity in its struggle against feudalism, which had outlived its utility. At present, however, this same class is not only conservative, but rather reactionary, and the role of the advanced guard of humanity belongs by right to the proletariat. There has been hardly any class in the history of humanity more conscious or rather more self-conscious than the middle class. In fact, class consciousness is a distinctly middle class virtue or vice, just as we choose to view it. As a matter of tactics, the proletariat must fight the middle class with its own weapons and possess class consciousness in order to be successful in its battle against a class-conscious enemy.

Let us not, however, make a virtue out of necessity.

Class interests in the end are only a little better than individual interests as a motive for conscious evolutionary activity. If the struggle of the middle class against feudalism had been only a struggle in the exclusive interests of that class, no earnest thinker, poet or public-spirited man would have felt inspired to take part in the struggle. It was the interest of all humanity—rightly or wrongly conceived—which imparted the inspiration to noble deeds and sacrifices on the part of the great actors of the French revolution. The middle class, after its selfish class interests were secured, became satisfied and used the new conditions to the advantage of its own class interests.

Shall the proletariat be trained in the same narrow and selfish channels of thought and sentiment? Shall the proletariat repeat the same sad and sordid comedy of achieving only class interests under the guise of euphonious but empty phrases of fraternity (of the Cain variety), liberty (tiger liberty) and equality (after death), connected by the middle class with the dawn of its victory? Are not the class consciousness and the class struggle so emphasized by some fanatical ante-diluvian Socialists, exceedingly narrow and near-sighted? There must be a struggle between the proletariat and the middle class, but this struggle is of an eminently deeper and broader significance than any other class struggle in the history of humanity. It is only a class struggle, if viewed from the surface, but as a matter of fact it is

a struggle of all the human race against social institutions which have outlived their utility, a struggle of all the human race for the entire reconstruction of our present social fabric on principles of reason and justice, a struggle of a truly human philosophy of life against a conception of life peculiar to the beasts of prey.

Socialism is the movement not of a single class—however large and worthy of sympathy—but the movement of all the toilers, all producers, all the people working for a living, all those who honestly and without reserve have at heart the interests of the laborer in the broadest sense of that term.

Let us therefore preach race consciousness as a higher ideal than of class consciousness.

The struggle between classes in history—if analyzed closely and candidly—is in the end a struggle between old and new forms of life. Let the dead bury the dead, and the living take their places with a sense of the continuity of the life and activity of the human race, of which we all form infinitesimal links.

XIV. CATAclySM OR EVOLUTION.

Times are changing and we change with them. It cannot be otherwise. Life itself is constant change, perpetual transformation, everlasting development. That life on earth, or, rather, its forms and manifestations, are not uniform and constant, but subjected to changes and transformations of the most pronounced character was noticed by the thinkers of all ages. Observers of nature could not fail to discover that species of plants and animals existed at some periods and were replaced by quite different types at other periods of the existence of our globe. The human mind could not, however, be satisfied with the mere statement of these facts. The religious philosophers explained the changing forms of life on earth as the results of the activities of a personal, human-like, supernatural being, as results of consecutive creations. The earth was looked upon by them as a kind of divine experimental station, where the deity indulged in the sport of creating, destroying and creating anew different species of plants and animals according to whim and fancy. Poetical as this assumption may appear, it did not satisfy the analytical mind of modern scientists. The great French naturalist, Cuvier, for instance, advanced the semi-scientific theory of cataclysms. According to this theory, the globe is subjected to periodical violent perturbations, changing its entire surface and burying under its ruins the existing types of life. These cataclysms are followed by a long period of creative rest, during which new types of plants and animals reappear and multiply. The theory of cataclysms fails to explain the causes of the violent perturbations, and presupposes the possibility of creation of living organisms out of mere debris of a dilapidated world. In some respects the Cuvier theory was less satisfactory than the previous theological one, with its supernatural *deus ex machina* of a creator of something out of nothing.

Darwin (the grandfather of Charles Darwin), Goethe, Lamarck, Jofroi St. Iller, Charles Darwin and other modern naturalists established firmly the theory of evolution, of gradual development of life on earth from the most simple and primitive forms to its highest type, the human race.

Mankind is but a part of animal life on earth. Obviously

the philosophy of life as advanced by the Darwinian school must find its application in social economics. The last of all sciences, however, to be studied on evolutionary principles appears to be sociology, the science of human society. This curious fact finds its explanation in the comparative youth of the just named science and its great complexity.

The honor of the first attempt to apply evolutionary methods to the history of men unmistakably belongs to the great founder of the materialistic conception of history, Karl Marx. Without the conception of human society as a product of evolution, critical Socialism would be an impossibility. As a matter of fact, critical Socialism is nothing else but a rational system of philosophy of human social life in the light of the theory of evolution. The so-called materialistic conception of history is to be called more properly the evolutionary conception of history. Indeed, to explain all changes in the social-economic life as the results of gradual development of modes of production and distribution from the simplest and therefore most stable forms to the most complex and consequently least stable means to apply evolutionary methods to social-economic sciences. That the evolutionary or materialistic conception of human history ought to lead to such an eminently evolutionary movement as we witness in modern Socialism goes without saying.

Historians, economists and sociologists of the old schools could well afford to adhere either to the theological theories of the interference of a supernatural being in human affairs or adopt Cuvier's theory of cataclysms or revolutions, according to their respective personal predilections. They might consistently recognize so-called revolutions, violent social upheavals, as the efficient causes of different types of social-economic life and activity. Critical Socialism, however, must necessarily look upon social-economic cataclysms, as the great French revolution, not as causes of a change in social-economic forms of life and activity, but as their inevitable consequences. Revolts and revolutions in social life are what thunder and lightning are to atmospheric electricity. Social forces if checked and hampered by irrational and anachronistic institutions turn destructive, but destruction is not by any means the essential feature of social evolution.

Social forces intelligently and rationally managed are con-

structive. Cataclysms in social life or revolutions are not necessarily progressive.

In view of these facts, it is rather humiliating to see and hear Socialism identified with obsolete Jacobinic cataclysmic aspirations, as it is frequently the case in our time of general confusion of causes and effects in social life. We do not mean to maintain that there will be no social cataclysms in the future, or that Socialism will necessarily be inaugurated peacefully. But critical Socialism in its educational crusade will teach the people to see coming social events and use its clear vision for the purpose of foreseeing and avoiding, as far as possible, social cataclysms. The knowledge of social forces will enable humanity to control and direct these forces in channels of the greatest constructive usefulness. Socialistic or rather pseudo socialistic jingoism is just as contemptible as any other indulgence in irrational misuse of language.

XV. COMMUNISM AND COLLECTIVISM.

La propriete c'est le vole—property is theft—according to radical thinkers like Proudhon. Private property is the very foundation of our culture and civilization, according to conservative thinkers of all ages. Communism is the highest ideal attainable, according to the first, and the very incarnation of evil, according to the last. There is, however, a third view of the subject of property, and this is represented by so-called collectivists. It is of vital importance for each and every Socialist to gain a clear conception of all these views and theories on private and common property. As in all cases, the best way of arriving at strictly scientific conclusions is to go back to the first principles of natural sciences and use strictly naturalistic methods of reasoning.

The first question suggesting itself is the origin of property. The conception of private property we meet in the animal kingdom in a quite distinct form, especially among the beasts of prey. The motive of property in this case is the instinct of self-preservation and the means of its attainment and preservation—brute force. Might and right are identical for the “individualists” of the animal world. Common utilization of pastures by animals living in herds may serve as an illustration of the opposite type of use of property. The elements of common use of property, resulting from the co-operation of the members of an organized group of workers, we meet in studying the social life of bees. In that the foundation of property appears to be a higher principle than brute force, the principle of work. It is true that the community of a bee hive will attack any of its members not willing to contribute towards the common property, and try and keep away any intruder from outside by force and sting. But force and sting are in this instance only a means of self-defense, while the justification of the defense lays in accomplished work. Might is in this case only an adjunct to right, a means to enforce and maintain it.

This element of work is of far-reaching importance. In the instance of the individualistic tiger—the mere act of killing an animal weaker than himself can hardly be called work, from the economic point of view at least. The consuming of grass on the pasture by herd animals requires

still less exertion on their part. In both cases nature provides the food in a condition ready for immediate consumption. It is quite different with the honey accumulated in a beehive. The raw material out of which honey has to be formed must be collected by patient workers from many flowers, transferred to the beehive and transformed into new products of a certain shape, quality and quantity. It is a quite complicated operation, demanding a great deal of exertion on the part of the co-operating bees. *This exertion* forms the ethical moment of property rights.

Work means the overcoming of a resistance. The overcoming of a resistance may be accomplished only by an expenditure of bodily energy on the part of the worker, an expenditure of their very substance. The resulting wax and honey represent, partly, at least, the transformed bodily substance and energy of the co-operating bees.

Turning our eyes to human society we find that only on the very first stages of civilization and in exclusively favorable conditions men could exist on what nature furnished them in the shape of fruits of the field and animals of the forest for food, in the shape of a cave as a shelter from the inclemency of the elements and seasons. The element of labor entered more and more extensively into the life of man as he advanced on the evolutionary ladder, shaped his ideas about possession of property and determined the form of property at the time. The mode of production, the method of applying labor to the products of nature, in order to produce commodities for consumption and use, determined the mode of use and consumption of these commodities—the system of property. When, for instance, a tribe of Indians killed a buffalo in a joint hunting expedition the buffalo was considered the common property of the hunting party. On the other hand, in stages of culture when individual production prevailed, the form of property holding was individual. We cannot, therefore, decide for all times and conditions which form of property is the most just and rational, as our friends the Utopians do.

Socialism objects to the present strictly individual form of property in general and the tools and materials of production in particular, not from any abstract and arbitrary point of view, not on sentimental grounds, but because the present system of property is in direct contradiction with the

present mode of production and distribution of commodities. The present system of production and distribution is co-operative and becoming more and more socialized with every year, while the system of property holding and use remains individualistic; and is kept so artificially, in violation of all the laws of nature and society, reason and justice. This incongruity can not, ought not and will not exist much longer. The masses suffer under this incongruity materially, while the classes degenerate into useless parasites and drones of society.

Socialism works in the direction of removing this incongruity and restoring equilibrium between production and consumption in the name of reason and justice. The socialization of all the industries in the interest of society at large is demanded. This co-operative commonwealth does not mean necessarily communism, or consumption in common of the commodities produced in common. Utopians indulge in dreams about soldier-like life in barrack-like phalansteries, where everything is in common. Modern Socialists take into consideration human nature with its pronounced individualistic tastes and proclivities, with its yearnings towards the sanctuary of home and privacy of family life. It takes into consideration the fact that these individualistic tendencies are the natural outcome of the evolution of the human type.

The evolution of the human individuality can and ought to be turned into channels where it would become an inexhaustible source of constructive and organizing power for social welfare. That humanity may in the distant future prefer communal life and consumption of commodities we do not feel justified to deny. But Modern Socialism is more inclined towards collectivism than communism of the Utopian pattern. Collectivism is favorable to the full development of the human individuality without encroachment upon the interests of other members of society. Under collectivism freedom, fraternity and equality may for the first time turn into a reality instead of an empty sound. Among these the term equality from the collectivist standpoint needs some elucidation. Opponents of Socialism love to insist that collectivism and communism are identical terms and must necessarily lead to the dead level of slavery. This assertion is by no means justified. Under collectivism the equality of chances for all the members of the community will

be assured, while there will be left the largest opportunities for the development and utilization of individual talents.

Far from leading to a dead level of slavery, collectivism would make people really free to live the fullest, deepest and sublimest life, a life worth living.

XVI. SOCIAL EVOLUTION AND THE REFORMERS.

Modern Socialism is a distinctly conscious evolutionary movement. It demands a radical reconstruction of the present mercantile and capitalistic system of society on entirely different planes. It demands that all industrial and economic functions of society should be managed by society in the interest of society as a whole. It considers the democratization of commerce, trade and industry as the only reliable foundation of political democracy and safe guaranty of true social equality.

The co-operative commonwealth advocated by Socialism is thoroughly in accord with the results of modern philosophy—science and ethics. Social justice and the light of reason shall regulate the civic, economic and other inter-relations of the members of this commonwealth of the future. Blind chance and chaotic play of unrestricted and uncontrolled individual endeavor and action, characterize the present anarchic state of society and are favorable for the most brutal struggle for existence between man and man, man and woman, man and child in the field of industrial slavery, a struggle resulting in the survival of the most cunning, unscrupulous and heartless, in a boundless sea of human suffering and degradation, in crime, carnal and moral prostitution.

In our present society the individual or class is allowed to exploit, nay, encouraged to prey upon, the mass of humanity. Socialism has raised the banner of the downtrodden, exploited and demoralized masses of humanity, the so-called lower classes. It champions the cause of the emancipation of these lower classes from the unbearable yoke of irrational and unjust social conditions. It has proclaimed the identity of the interests of the individual with the interests of the race in general, and is, therefore, an international, world-wide movement as far as general principles are involved. Socialism stands for the brotherly co-operation of all the members of the human race for the purpose of exploiting the inexhaustible treasures of our common, benevolent mother—nature—for emulation instead of competition, for the survival of the best instead of the fittest, for the elevation instead of the degradation of the human type, for the

entire abolition of class distinctions, for the propaganda of race instead of class consciousness.

Socialism does not expect to change human nature by elevating the morality of single individuals born, reared, educated and compelled to live in a grossly immoral environment, in a state of society inviting immorality by its very construction and putting a premium on immorality by heathenish success worship, as the conservative and revolutionary Utopian individualists expect. It proposes only to direct the instinct of self-preservation, so deeply rooted in human nature, into channels where the most potent social powers will, by the laws of social mechanics, turn constructive instead of destructive, organizing instead of disorganizing, humanizing instead of bestializing.

The most rational way to abolish an evil is to remove the incentive for committing it. Where there is no motive for exploitation of one man by another there can be no exploitation. Socialism fortunately passed the Utopian stage in which the individualists still linger. It builds its magnificent edifice for the future of humanity not on the sand of personal morality, but on the solid rock of knowledge of human nature and the laws of social and economic life. It does not believe in creating social conditions by legislative fiat. It maintains that only such laws are operative which sanctify existing social and economic conditions, laws expressing deep-rooted convictions of the broad masses of the people.

As Rome could not be built in one day, the herculean task of emancipating the human race from its own irrationality and injustice to itself cannot be accomplished by a single stroke of the sword or pen. The masses of humanity must learn a great deal in order to understand their own interests and how to consciously and rationally modify economic and social conditions in accordance with these interests. The masses are born, reared and trained by the dominating and domineering classes in a slavish attitude of mind, in slavish virtues, which are the free man's vices.

There are three ways to learn: By original thinking, by imitation and personal experience. The most noble of these three ways of learning, the original thinking, is done by a very few, while the masses of humanity live by the thoughts of other people, mostly of the past generations. The second method of learning is the easiest. Even apes and parrots can imitate.

Unfortunately, however, the higher classes represent a very poor paragon for imitation by their high living and low thinking, by their arrogance, ignorance, and false pretense. (The morals of the slaveholder were never much higher than that of his slaves and vice versa.) The third way of learning is the hardest and most certain of all three. Personal experience, however, does not enlighten everybody. A slave may know how hard his lot is and yet bear his chains complacently as long as he is a slave in thought and feeling, that means as long as he recognizes the institution of slavery as something legitimate, as long as he objects to slavery only on personal grounds and aspires to be a slave driver or slave owner himself and not a free man among equals.

It is obvious that Socialism will be obliged to do much uphill educational work, and for a while limit its political activity to gradual measures, to so-called reforms, without, however, leaving out of mind for a single moment the final goal in view. This way Socialism, being a worldwide, conscious, evolutionary movement, may at certain periods in certain countries be engaged in reformatory activity, without being inconsistent, without losing its conscious evolutionary character.

If, however, Socialists may at times engage in reformatory work, the question arises: What should be their attitude toward reforms inaugurated or advocated by middle class parties? Middle class reforms may be divided into the following categories: 1. Reforms in the exclusive interest of the middle class, but pretending to benefit the people at large, as, for instance, the protective tariff in the United States. 2. Reforms having the appearance of radical measures, but destined only as a blind for voting cattle into the hands of demagogues, as, for instance, the free silver movement. 3. Reforms having in view to discredit directly real radical reforms in the eyes of the unthinking multitude, as were the measures taken by the rulers of Rome during the agrarian agitation by the Gracchi brothers, in France by granting some demands by Blanqui, in Germany, during the state-Socialism period of Bismarckian policy; and (4) bona fide reformatory movements of shallow, symptomatic, short-sighted ephemeral kind, as, for instance, single tax, prohibition and such like. We do not need to waste words on the first three kinds of middle-class reforms. These

reforms have to be fought by Socialists with all the weapons within their reach and power as strictly inimical to the interests of the toiling masses.

But what shall be our attitude toward the honest, sincere, fanatical blind leaders of the blind—like the single taxers, prohibitionists, anarchists and all the would-be reformers? All these people are Utopians to a larger or smaller degree. They do not realize the complexity and lawfulness of social life. They do not care to study human society as a result of historical evolution and social statics and mechanics; they blindly believe in the miracle-working power of paper legislation. The worst of all is, however, that the middle-class reformers never arrive at the conclusion that it is futile to attempt to introduce a measure, however, apparently salutary to the oppressed, which is out of joint with the whole system of the social fabric, that such a measure, even if introduced, would be either entirely inoperative or misused by the classes in power in their exclusive interest and to the detriment of the masses of the people.

Nothing short of broad tolerance on our part toward the “blind leaders of the blind” will do. The grain of truth that is sometimes contained in their teachings will remain intact while the sands of mistaken fads and notions will be washed and carried away in the ocean of oblivion by the tide of time.

XVII. BLISSFUL SOCIALISM.

Rev. W. D. P. Bliss is the leader of the Social Reform Union. Being weary of the strife of Socialists (in which, by the way, he played the part of an onlooker only) and the Socialism of strife, he decided to step forward with an olive branch, the "symbol of what shall be." This is, of course, very natural. The reverend gentleman is weary and wants peace. He does not believe in strife, but does believe in peace. He believes, however, in many other things. He believes "in one life, in all the people and in all the people in one life." The reverend gentleman is not only exceedingly broad in his faith, but somewhat oracular in its expression. In religious affairs, however, a little haziness of style is considered graceful and lofty. Indeed, W. D. P. Bliss is not a common mortal—he is a prophet, an apostle of a new Socialism, the Socialism of the twentieth century, the Socialism of Peace (with a big P.) "What will such a Socialism mean?" asks the prophet, and replies himself: "It will mean all that is in man—sex, bodies, heads, souls, matter. What is matter? Never mind. It will mean mind. What is mind? No matter!" In regard to transparency of style the sentences of the Pythian oracle are far superior to the style of the apostle of the Socialism of the twentieth century, but all great ideas have to be clothed in the language of poesy. In spite of all the poetic license of the profession, or rather, confession, of faith of the founder of the Socialism of Peace, one thing is clear as "the glow of Homer's rolling sun"—namely, that it will mean a great deal more than the Anarchism of Peace as expounded and propounded by Count Leo Tolstoi. Judge for yourself, dear reader. The Blissful Socialism of Peace will mean matter (and that means a great deal), no matter, mind, never mind and many other things and nothings, the enumeration of which we are compelled to omit for sheer lack of space.

The most encouraging aspect of Blissful Socialism is, however, that it will mean sex and for obvious reasons. Rev. W. D. P. Bliss is not only the prophet of a new gospel, a new savior of humanity, but a great organizer. He found out that "people are weary" (again this characteristic expression

of the reverend gentleman's state of mind, this time generalized; believing in "all the people in one life," he identifies himself with the people to whom he belongs) "of discussion, they want action." Therefore, he is starting "an organization that will eventually make parties unnecessary. Today reform needs not so much education as unity, the unity of the whole people." There is obviously nothing small about the founder of Blissful Socialism. He is opposed to parties, because a party stands for a part. We must have an organization into which anyone—man or woman—may enter. It must respect everyone's opinion, alike the millionaire's and the pauper's. It must, therefore, as an organization, have no opinion, NO PLATFORM, NO PRINCIPLES! But, secondly, having let everybody in, it must find out what all want. How will this bring in Socialism? It will not bring in Socialism until the majority of the people want it, "and then it will." This idea of ushering in Socialism by uniting all men and women of the world in an organization without principles is so grand, so unique, so original and at the same time so delightfully simple that it would make Rev. W. D. P. Bliss immortal if he did not otherwise deserve it. Let us imagine "an organization to which everybody may belong and yet remain perfectly free to vote as he pleases. Those who think they can do the most good by working through one of the old political parties may still do so, those who believe in a class-conscious party can go on with their efforts and party. It can bind no one; it can unite all, because brotherhood (among the millionaires and paupers) is more adhesive (not cohesive, mind you, but adhesive!) than strife." In respect to tolerance, broadness and liberality this organization leaves nothing to desire, since "anybody can belong to it, without committing himself to any economic view, without making any pledge to support or not to support any party."

Rev. W. D. P. does not believe in a class-conscious proletarian struggle. His motto is, "Brotherhood by brotherhood, peace by the path of peace." His ideal is the sea "of deep, sun-crowned fraternity." A fitting conclusion to Rev. W. D. P.'s manifesto of Blissful Socialism would be the paraphrase of the historical concluding sentences of the Communist manifesto: Workingmen of all countries, good-night!

What is Blissful Socialism? It is a conglomeration of conservative or bourgeois with Utopian Socialism. To quote the Communist manifesto:

“A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances in order to secure the continued existence of the bourgeois society. The bourgeois Socialists want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus the revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality that the proletariat should remain within the bonds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie. It is summed up in the phrase: The bourgeoisie is a bourgeoisie, for the benefit of the working class. The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, cause Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to class antagonism. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favored. Here they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class—nay, by preference to the ruling class. Here they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavor by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary, conservative Socialists, differing from them only by more systematic pedantry and by their fantastical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effect of their social science. They therefore violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can result only from blind unbelief in the new gospel.” We consider Rev. W. D. P. Bliss’s “movement” not only ridiculous (although well meant), but decidedly harmful, as it is likely to create more confusion in respect to what Socialism really means and stands for than already exists among the general public. Rev. D. W. P. Bliss is what we would call a confusionist, as he sufficiently proved by his would-be public activity for many, many years, a man without a clear vision, without courage of his convictions, without backbone, a straddler. Such people are fretful, they try to

please everyone, attempt much and finally accomplish nothing; they usually fail to grasp situations, and grope around in the dark without realizing it.

Socialism can afford to look with compassion on the activity of such petty middle-class reformers posing as saviours of humanity.

XVIII. THE SINGLE TAX VERSUS SOCIALISM.

When preparing for long years of exile into the "remotest and least populated parts of Eastern Siberia," (to use the official expression of the ukase of the Czar, by which I was banished as a political offender), I included in my modest traveling library the "Progress and Poverty" of Henry George. At first I immensely enjoyed the study of the gospel of single tax. Indeed the charm of the inspired words of the apostle and prophet of the nationalization of the soil, his religious enthusiasm, beautiful style and warm humanitarian spirit, captivated me at once. In the dreary Arctic wilderness, "Progress and Poverty" sounded to me like a new revelation. I read it and re-read it, and—alas! the more I read it, the less satisfied was I with the trend of the ideas of the author, his arguments and conclusions. The disenchantment was complete when I began to analyze the views of the author on capital and labor. It was a puzzle to me, how such a seemingly brilliant economist (at least on the subject of rent) could make such puerile blunders when dealing with the foremost problem of the day. I was at a loss to understand how it was possible for such an ardent advocate of the nationalization of the soil, to fail to grasp the grander and more general idea of the nationalization of all tools of production, including the soil as a part of the whole system of the socialization of production.

The single tax scheme looked to me then like the compromise of a petty politician, rather than the great plan of a philosopher and humanitarian. That social problems never were and never will be solved by financial or fiscal reforms was an axiom known to me when a high school boy. The single tax scheme, represented at first only as a means to the nationalization of the soil (and it is a very poor means at that), in the end turned into a purpose itself, into a panacea against all social and economic evils. Here my suspicion was aroused to the highest degree. The mountain gave birth to a mouse! The great thinker and humanitarian turned into a dispenser of sure cures and patent medicines. What a pitiful sight! But is Mr. Henry George indeed the great thinker and scientist I took him for? I asked myself. I began once more to carefully study "Progress and Poverty," and to my great

surprise found much poverty of thought and little scientific progress in the book.

About fifteen years have passed since the time when I first became acquainted with the gospel of the single tax, and since then the theory has not deepened, broadened or advanced the fraction of an inch. In our time of mediocre scribbling and indiscriminate printing, even the single tax can boast of having a literature of its own. But great Gods—what a literature! It consists of nothing but a dull chewing over and over of the stale old cud, contained in the once famous book of its originator. Such is the fate of all pseudo-reformatory schemes conceived in half-knowledge, born in mental narrowness and reared by political incapacity.

The single tax theory has not only proved itself incapable of healthy growth and development, but has become a stumbling block for many timid and feeble minds, which otherwise would be receptive to some sound line of thought and reasoning.

It is not the intention of the writer to bore his readers with even a brief exposition of the single tax theory. I shall neither endeavor to point out the one-sidedness of its explanation of pauperism, nor the total inadequacy of the ways and means it proposes for the cure. The enlightened reader will do this himself. We shall however expose some of the main fallacies of this still-born scheme of universal salvation of humanity by the faith cure of a single tax.

Let us turn our attention first to Mr. George's views of interest on capital. According to his theory, interest on capital is a natural product of capital, but in no case an abstraction from the earnings of labor. For instance, the aging of wine, the increase of cattle and fruits are natural consequences of the investment of capital and therefore belong to the capitalists and to nobody else. This statement is not original with our author. It was tendered before as early as the sixteenth century by Biel, by Calvin (in his treatment of the canonical interdiction of usury) and most prominently by the physiocrats.

Nearest to Mr. George comes Bentham, who tries to refute the objection of Aristotle to usury. The immortal Hellenic thinker declares that usury is unethical, because of the barrenness of coin but Bentham replies, that once exchanged for cattle or invested in farming, money turns fruitful. The mistake, however, of Mr. George and his predecessors consists in

the elimination of the element of labor from the so-called natural products of capital. Indeed natural sciences prove beyond any doubt that labor must always be applied to natural resources in order to create values. It is therefore idle to try to distinguish where the natural resources play a more and where a less prominent part in production.

But aside from the superstitious idea of values created by nature alone—the question arises: Where is the justification of the exclusive ownership of the interest on capital by the capitalists, even if we admit for the sake of argument, that this interest is the result of the bounty of mother nature alone? The confusion of the interest theory of Mr. George appears still denser when we take into consideration that he at least partly admits that human labor is the only source of the creation of value. He considers rent on soil a crying injustice (and rightly), because there is no labor involved in the mere fact of possession of land. But he justifies interest on capital. The link between the theory of value and interest on capital was somehow lost by Mr. George, although both interest on capital, and rent on land obviously belong to one and the same category of exploitation of labor by the monopolistic owners of the tools of production. The fallacy of this distinction between rent and interest on capital makes all the rest of the reasoning of our author unsound. The interest theory is the sand on which he builds his airy castle of single tax.

His second fallacy is the so-called harmony between capital and labor. It is true that in new countries, as the United States, interest and wages are both comparatively high, and for many reasons. But in old countries there is a pronounced antagonism between interest and wages. In other words, the interest on capital is higher where, and when wages are lower, and vice versa. In his zeal as an antagonist of rent, Henry George went even so far as to deplore the encroachment of the greedy landlord on the poor capitalist. It is almost touching to see the crocodile tears shed by the prophet of single tax in view of the sad fate of capital exploited by landlordism! But as a matter of fact the landlord in all countries is the victim of capital. The indebtedness of the landed proprietor to movable capital is a growing evil everywhere, and in some countries reaches alarming proportions.

Toynbee, in his lectures on the industrial revolution in

England, proves that the riches of capitalists increase a great deal faster than the wealth of the owners of land. The wonderful industrial evolution furnished every advantage to capitalism, while favoring landlords only slightly in comparison. The peculiar nature of the agricultural industry has kept it so far, and is likely to keep it a long time, outside of the domain of Socialized labor characterizing the factory system of production. The prominence given to rent is, therefore, entirely out of date, and anachronistic to the extent of being ridiculous. It reminds one of Don Quixote fighting windmills, which he takes in his delirium for knights and giants.

But perhaps a single tax, in spite of all its wrong economical theories, would be a great fiscal reform? Well, let us see. Take for instance, Mr. George's assertion, that a single tax, equal to the value of rent, would be more than sufficient to cover all the expenses of government and administration and would make all other taxes superfluous. Is this true? Nowhere in the world is rent so high as in England. The expropriation of that rent, however, would not cover even three-fifths of the budget of the United Kingdom. Let us not insist on the immense difficulties of the introduction of a single tax. Let us suppose it to be as easy as the naive followers of George imagine. What would be the inevitable result? The small owners of land—the overwhelming majority of farmers—would be ruined and compelled to swell the overcrowded ranks of the city proletariat.

But would the larger land owners profit by it? Under the present condition their indebtedness is growing, and a heavy tax on the soil would lead to a still greater depreciation of land, which would then fall entirely into the hands of the owners of movable capital.

The single tax proposition sounds simply like a sneer in our time, when the mass of agriculturists hardly cover their expenses, and landed proprietors with great difficulty get even a small interest on their invested capital.

And the laborer? How would the laborer be affected by the single tax scheme? The capitalists would certainly not miss the opportunity of screwing down the scale of wages correspondingly lower. It is no wonder therefore that the Socialists of Germany are opposed to the single tax reform. The Socialists of the United States cannot fail to see in the single tax movement one of the innumerable reforms

that do not reform, and that besides have the drawback of turning the attention of the voters from the burning questions of the day, from living issues of the age to false issues and illusive watch-words of conscious or unconscious demagogues.

XIX. INDIVIDUALISM AND CRIME.

Divinely beautiful are the spring nights in the *tayga*, the primeval forests of Siberia. Nature is full of life, the bushes and fields, the grassy plains and ponds, the hills and valleys, the lakes and rivers, the azure sky and emerald earth. The paradise-like air is almost overburdened with the exquisite fragrance of numberless flowers. Nature is resting with the repose of a young giant. Mysterious sounds now and then reach the ear of the listener, the whispering of the leaves, the splashing of a brook, the rustle of wings of a scared bird, the rapid run of a beast of prey. These noises hush down as suddenly as they come, and then quiet reigns supreme, the quiet of life, joy and power.

In the midst of this primeval forest, there is one spot which appears to be a habitation of men. Let us observe this spot more closely. It turns out to be a miserable, wooden shanty, serving as a prison station for the passing and repassing bands of "criminals" on the main Siberian road. Let us step a little closer to the building and take a peep inside. The weary sentinel, a raw recruit just taken from the plow, is looking in the opposite direction and dreaming about his native village and probably the girl he left behind him, and consequently will not notice us. Merciful sleep reigns in this filthy den, full of the dregs and scum of humanity, just as majestically as in the gorgeous palaces of the favorites of fate, the demi-gods of the crowd. Will you examine attentively the features of the sleeping criminals? Standing, sitting, lying in the closest vicinity to the huge night-tub whose contaminating contents flow over its rims and reach the floor in streams, they sleep as comfortably or uncomfortably as they can or must. Not a breath of the paradise-like air of the surrounding primeval forest penetrates into the prison. It is stifling and hot inside. The "air" filling the room is nothing but an infernal compound of deadly miasma. The pale, haggard, care-worn features of the sleepers, expressing all kinds of vice, hate, disappointment and above all, a deep weariness of life, make you shudder. Their features, however, express more than that—a bitter reproach.

"Yes, look at us attentively, you virtuous citizens of the community, you fathers and children of respectable families!"

these features seem to say: "look at us, children of ill-fate, conceived in sin, born in squalor and misery, reared in extreme poverty. We erred grievously against you—respectable citizens—against society. And here we are, a warning and example to others. But did you, good citizens as you are, take care of our mothers when we were about to be born? Did you watch us when we were still innocent babies in the cradle? Did you feed us when we were hungry, did you quench our thirst, did you clothe our nakedness when we shivered from cold? Did you teach us how to live and love humanity? Did you supply us with work when we were idle? It is true, we are now the worst enemies of society. But did not society treat us as enemies from the moment of our appearance in the world? Oh! run away, you 'good citizens.' This place is not good enough for you! Leave us in our pan-demonium and visit some of your multi-millionaires. The multi-millionaire's royal palace is an earthly paradise. He is surrounded by a happy family and all the world pronounces his name with deep reverence. And why not? He spends fortunes for charitable purposes of all kinds, builds churches, erects and endows universities, patronizes high art and literature. But do not ask from whom and where he got his treasures. Evil tongues affirm that he never in his life earned a penny by the work of his hands. Many a merchant or clerk has ended his life by suicide. Many a widow and orphan have been compelled to take the beggar's staff. Many a fair maiden has been driven to tread the thorny path of sexual slavery. Many a frugal and honest laborer has died a pauper. And evil tongues affirm that all this misery was the direct result of the marvelous manipulations of this financial wizard. The evil tongues even affirm that your twentieth century speculator, promoter, railroad king, trust-magnate and political boss hurt society more than we miserable, old-fashioned and stupid criminals!"

That is what the features of the sleeping criminals seem to say. Do we interpret them rightly?

Society is responsible for the consequences of the imperfections of its organization. Criminals are the products of these imperfections. The professional criminals acquire their criminal habits in earliest youth, in the midst of the lowest strata of the slum proletariat, in over-populated districts of industrial cen-

ters. Boys usually start their criminal career with common vagrancy, turn thieves under the pressure of direct want, and end with graver offenses, when hardened by the persecution of the authorities and the heartlessness of the people in general. Criminal propensities show themselves at a very tender age and develop into full bloom only where the conditions for their development are especially favorable. If counteracted in time, these propensities are checked forever. Children with criminal inclinations form a well-marked type of physical degeneracy, a low stature, a small head, weak eyes, a nervous temperament, unsatisfactory general development, excessive leanness, pallor, and aversion to any exertion. These physical defects are to a considerable extent the cause of their dreary profession. They are unable to compete with the normal laborer. There is left for them only the choice between perpetual starvation and crime. Criminals are as a rule mentally inferior, they are either stupid or have no will-power, or suffer from both defects at once. The conditions of family life to which they owe their birth, are in the majority of cases highly unfortunate.

Most criminals have lost both parents or at least one at a very tender age, or if they are both alive they are of such a character as to have only a demoralizing influence on their offspring.

About 80 per cent of the parents of criminals are either very immoral or themselves professional criminals. The economic condition of the young recruits of the irregular army of criminals is a very sad one. They can expect nothing from their parents and are physically and mentally weak themselves. All these conditions, hereditary taint, physical and mental degeneracy, orphanage or bad parents, deep poverty, and the low moral standard of their environment, push children with criminal tendencies on the inclined plane of a criminal profession, where they naturally sink lower and lower, till they reach a stage where they are beyond redemption and become the worst enemies of society.

And how does our capitalistic society treat its stepchildren, the criminals, the victims of wickedness and irrationality? It maintains a highly complicated and expensive machinery of secret and official police, public prosecutors, criminal courts with all their paraphernalia, prisons of all kinds, in order to catch the criminals in the act, or after they have committed

a crime, and then punish them, that is, take vengeance on them.

That punishment of any kind does not have the effect of decreasing crime or making it less atrocious, is a generally acknowledged fact. And yet this barbarous penal system seems to gratify the feeling of "justice" of our capitalistic mob.

The capitalistic mob divides humanity into two parts, the well-intentioned and malcontents. The malcontents have to be kept in check by any means possible. It is not considered necessary to study the criminal class and to find out from where it comes, to where it goes, how it thinks, feels and suffers. The capitalistic mob is probably afraid that such study would compel it to resign its pharisaic and complacent self-adulation, that it would show that not all criminals are behind the bars, nor all the well-intentioned on this side of the grating.

Probably this mob is afraid that such a study would lead to the overturning of the whole system of the present treatment of criminals, and replace the barbarous precept "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," with the more humane principle, "tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner," (to understand all means to pardon all). How low the moral standard of the capitalistic mob is can be concluded from the generally acknowledged fact, that persons committing grave crimes against society, provided they are sufficiently rich and belong to the so-called upper class, succeed in escaping the odium of conviction by a court of "justice," and do not lose caste. A successful rascal is even held in higher esteem than an honest man who fails to succeed in a material way. The first is considered a smart fellow, the second a fool. Thus a premium is put on artful avoidance of the clutches of the blind goddess of capitalistic justice in our present society.

What shall we do with our criminal class: is a problem treated in various ways by the press, pulpit and statesman, and perplexing many a learned man. This problem will not and cannot be solved so long as the foundations of society are such as to breed crime and criminals. Rent, profit and unpaid human labor, in short our capitalistic system, must be replaced by a higher, more humane social system, before crime will disappear as a menace to society. Moral conduct is just as normal to men as physical health. An immoral man

is a sick man. As hygienic measures are preferable to drugging, so is prevention of crime preferable to punishment for committed crimes. Rational and ethical, social economic conditions would destroy the commonest motives of crime and make it a relic of a barbarous past.

In the Socialistic state, there would be no proletariat devoured by a superior class, there would be no orphans left to their own fate. Children with criminal propensities would be treated in special schools and their vices eradicated before they grew too strong and unmanageable. There would be no necessity for criminal courts, prosecuting attorneys, police and all the rest of the safeguards of our capitalistic iniquity. There would be no private property to protect, no hunger to be appeased by stealing, no contrast between immensely rich and wretchedly poor to arouse the anxiety of the former and the envy of the latter. There would be no social conditions leading to over-refinement and ennui on one side and to bestialism on the other.

The German poet says: "Das eben ist der Fluch der boesen That, dass sie fortzeugend Boeses muss geben." (That is the very curse of the evil deed, that it gives birth to more prolific evil). The capitalistic system itself is based on criminal exploitation of men by men. It is cannibalism in disguise, nay worse than cannibalism. The human flesh eaters of Phidshy kill their victims before they eat his body. The capitalist system devours the bodies of the wage-slaves and their families, drinks their blood and swallows their brains while they are still alive and palpitate with energy and vigor. Is it a marvel that it breeds crime?

XX. SUICIDE AND INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY.

The absolute and relative growth of suicide in our modern times and in all civilized countries of Europe is simply appalling. For lack of space we will glance at a few figures relating to France only:

YEARLY AVERAGE OF SUICIDES.

Year	Annual Number	Inhabitants Per 1,000,000
1827-1830.....	1,739	54
1831-1835.....	2,119	67
1836-1840.....	2,574	76
1841-1845.....	2,952	85
1846-1850.....	3,446	97
1851-1855.....	3,639	100
1856-1860.....	4,002	110
1861-1865.....	4,661	124
1866-1869.....	5,207	135
1872-1875.....	5,471	150
1876-1880.....	6,250	168
1881-1885.....	7,299	193
1886-1890.....	8,268	216

In itself, suicide is not a very important phenomenon, some one may say. True enough. But dropsy, for instance, is not a very important sickness in itself, in fact no sickness at all, but a grave symptom of a frightful organic disease of the human body—of heart disease. So is suicide a grave symptom of some frightful social disease, a memento mori to the existing social system itself. The tremendous increase of suicides shows beyond any doubt that the whole social body is organically unsound. By analyzing the causes of suicide we may learn something useful about the social organic disease producing it.

First of all we must agree on the definition of suicide. What is suicide? The celebrated French sociologist, E. Duerk-

heim, defines it as follows: "Suicide is any kind of death directly or indirectly resulting from active or passive actions (for instance, abstention from food) of a person, perpetrated in full knowledge of the inevitableness of the consequences." This definition excludes the unconscious suicide of a lunatic, and includes the death of "martyrs, dying for convictions, or a mother for her child." Suicide is not accidental, it is subject to certain social laws, like every other phenomenon of human life and death. In every society there exist "suicidal currents," whose strength and dimensions are determined and conditioned by the peculiarities of the social structure itself to such an extent as to be a fixed feature of this structure. The average of suicides for the period 1840-1870 was in France 23 per thousand, in England 22, Denmark 20, Italy 31, and Austria 32. The difference between these numbers is exceedingly small, being equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent only. The general mortality, however, in these countries fluctuates in still narrower limits, 1 1-4 per cent. But the most discouraging feature of this analysis is the fact that when the tendency of natural mortality is unmistakably in the direction of a common level and fixedness for long periods and in different countries, the average of suicide is alarmingly increasing. A careful study of the cosmic, organic, physical, racial, religious and economic causes of suicides leads to the conclusion of the subordinate and secondary importance of these causes. The main factor of the increase or decrease of suicide in a given time and society is the degree of the integration or disintegration of that society. In other words, everything tending to unite man, diminishes the number of suicides, and vice versa. Duerkheim distinguishes two kinds of suicide (what he calls the "anomic" kind of suicide is only a subdivision, according to our view, of the egotistic kind of suicide, and we allow ourselves the liberty of omitting it as a separate category. Remark of the author) namely: 1, egotistic, and 2, altruistic suicides. Egotistic suicide is the consequence of the boundless expansion of personal inclinations, desires and interests in conjunction with a perfect absence of consciousness of social obligations and duties. Our contemporary society, with its pronounced individualistic tendencies and extremely loose social consciousness is favorable for the growth of egotistic suicides. Altruistic suicide is committed by persons

whose individual ambitions and desires are very little developed in comparison with consciousness of kind and the collective interests of the society to which they belong. The archaic communes formed the most favorable field for such kinds of suicides. And even in our time some exceptional personalities consciously sacrifice their lives on the altar of some grand idea. Altruistic suicides are possible only in highly integrated societies.

Family ties are to a great extent a safeguard against suicide, but in the main only so far as they fulfil their task, that is, so far as they are blessed with offspring. This safeguard is directly proportional in its efficiency to the number of children. The number of suicides among childless married women, for instance, is considerably higher than that among unmarried women of the same age. It is the integrating power of mutual attachment that makes the family a safeguard against suicide.

The same is noticeable in the relation of the citizen to the state. Civic disintegration always leads to an increase of suicides, as was the case in the time of the fall of the Roman empire, during the decline of ancient Greece, and before the French revolution. But times of revival of civic consciousness and virtues are always characterized by a fall in the number of suicides. Even great social perturbances and popular wars leading to an immense loss of life and destruction of property work in the same direction, as can be illustrated by the great French revolution, the revolution of 1848, the time of the Franco-Prussian war, and the Commune. The struggle against a common danger unites people and makes them feel as units of a great whole. Religious bodies—as far as they are an integrating power and entirely independent of their ethical or philosophical value—counteract likewise the tendency to suicide.

Industrial disturbances form the arena for great increases in the number of suicides, as is shown by the crisis in Germany during the so-called "Gruenderthum" following the victory over France, by the collapse of the Catholic bank of Bontoux in 1882 and many others. It is not poverty that drives people to suicide, but the economic insecurity and continual fluctuation, the ups and downs of "prosperity" and "hard times."

In primitive societies, the individual amounted to nothing, while the social group was every thing. The enslaving of the

personality to the community was highly unfavorable to any kind of progress. The reaction against this ancient regime was natural. The emancipation of the individual from the yoke of the community has advanced rapidly in our time and seems not yet to have run its full course. The Manchester school gave to extreme individualism its quasi-scientific sanction. Even the theory of evolution was dragged in by the hair for the same purpose. Prudhon and Krapotkin reduced, so-called "liberalism" to the absurdity of anarchism. According to them the individuality should be everything, while the community should be left to exist from the crumbs falling from the individual table of the sovereign personality. To whom shall the future belong? To the sovereign personality or to the sovereign community? But is there such an alternative? Could not both extremes be united, without any injury to the sovereignty of either? Indeed the excess of the personal interests in our modern society leads just as surely to social disintegration and suicide as the lack of it in primitive societies to stagnation and degeneration. The real remedy against both extremes is constructive Socialism, the application of the results of the scientific study of society to the practical purposes of the reorganization of society on new, sound and rational principles of brotherly co-operation. The principle "*homo homini lupus*" of the present social system of animal struggle for existence must be replaced by solidarity, savage competition by enlightened emulation. The industrial anarchy and speculation in trade must be regulated according to strict principles of supply, demand and rules of equity. The future belongs to a Socialistic structure of society, in which each individual member shall with full consciousness, and without any physical coercion, but from purely rational motives and ethical emotions, co-operate according to his powers with other fellow citizens with the clear purpose of furthering directly the common weal, and indirectly his own private happiness. The means leading to such a bright future are in the hands of all productive members of our commonwealth. Let us make society a special object of our study, let us build and maintain trade unions and other professional organizations, let us use our civic rights as voters intelligently, and conscientiously, and the results will not fail to come our way.

XXI. THE CLAMOR FOR PEACE IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY.

Let us imagine a grain of dust whirling through endless space and inhabited by ridiculously small living atoms. If these tiny creatures could realize the colossal dance they participate in, they might lose their senses from mere terror. Their fragile dwelling rushing through emptiness is kept together only by the mutual attraction of its parts on one side and of similar grains of dust, in company with which it is rapidly moving toward an unknown goal on the other side.

This grain of dust called the earth, together with its inhabitants, is rotating around its own axis and at the same time moves around the sun with the astounding rapidity of 600,000 miles in twenty-four hours. The entire system of the visible starry world is rushing into space with the hardly imaginable rapidity of sixty million miles in a year. We move two miles a second without a moment of rest. The earth can never get to the bottom of the awful abyss called space, and millions of years of constant motion do not make a difference of a hair's breath in the position of the earth from the point of view of eternity! These infinitesimal living atoms—human beings clinging tenaciously to the rotating grain of dust—the earth. O how small and insignificant are they from the point of view of eternity. Insignificant as the race is from this point of view, it is a giant in one respect, being endowed with the divine gift of reason. Human reason which is capable of grasping the whole world, of measuring the distance between stars and of determining the velocity of their motion.

Ought not these reasoning beings realize their role in nature and bend all their energies in the direction of mutual helpfulness, good will and fellow-feeling?

Ought not they devote the small space of time allotted to them as a gift of life in the most rational manner to acts of fraternal love, peace and co-operation?

Ought not the consciousness of the stern and unchangeable laws of the inanimate world weld them together in emulation, in spiritual achievements, noble aspirations, scientific research and fine arts for the general benefit of the race?

Ought not Justice, Freedom and Peace be the dearest treasures of humanity?

The past and present of the human race represents,

however, the very picture of struggle, strife and war between man and man, tribe and tribe, cast and cast, class and class. All the ingenuity of men is bent towards the invention of new methods and tools of annihilation, of murder. Arrows are dipped in poison, swords sharpened, fire and iron put into the service of death, armies drilled and organized, national, race and class hatreds cultivated artificially. Even science and fine arts are turned into subservience to the moloch of war and strife.

The most sacred feelings are profaned in the interests of cold-blooded murder on a grand scale called war. Civilization, Culture, Christianity are often claimed as demanding bloodshed. The grain of cosmic dust called the earth is soaked with the blood of the living atoms called rational human beings. Nations boasting of representing the highest type of humanity are constantly engaged in the so-called art of war. We kill off the lower races in order to civilize them, to christianize them, to raise the level of their culture. We kill off the lower races just because we love them so dearly and want them to be as good as we ourselves. We feel deeply our obligation towards our younger brothers in humanity and if we thrash the life out of them in our unselfish effort to raise them to our level of culture and civilization it is of course not our fault. The fittest always survive and we are fortunately the fittest.

Let us, however, for a moment pause and reflect in the endeavor to find the clue to the fatal incongruity between the peace and fraternity so deeply woven into human nature and the sordid zoological self-destruction practiced by the human race from time immemorial till the twentieth century—the age we so childishly boast about.

The strongest instinct in human nature is the instinct of self-preservation. We want to live and all the efforts of our body and mind are devoted to the creation of conditions favorable to the preservation of our life. These conditions are modifications of our environment. Our environment consists of the sub-human and human world. On the lowest stage of civilization the work of creating an artificial environment out of the elements found in nature was quite frequently a very hard task. The primitive tools and undeveloped skill of the primeval man were unequal to that task, and it was quite natural that killing off a fellow-being was considered as quite

legitimate when done for the purpose of preserving one's life. This was the epoch of cannibalism. The strong were considered as the fittest, as in our time; but in a narrower sense. With the advance of civilization this struggle with the sub-human and human environment changed gradually in intensity. The more perfected tools and skill enabled men to master nature with great ease. As far as the conquest of natural forces is concerned, the creation of the artificial environment necessary for the existence of men is almost a solved problem. The necessity for a struggle between man and man has practically disappeared and with it the moral justification of such a strife. The ideals of eternal peace and brotherhood, as all human ideals, are the outgrowth of actual material conditions. They are, however, always the advance agents of a higher stage of culture and civilization. The ideals of a preceding age form the fabric of actual conditions of the following age.

Our present social status represents a chaotic conglomeration of the germs of future institutions. The archaic institutions, institutions which have outlived their utility, prevail. Chief among these archaic institutions is the economic basis of society, the basis of a struggle between man and man in contrast to the future co-operation of men against nature. As long as the principle of so-called competition and, consequent exploitation, the mercantile ideas about profit and gain, the industrial individualism and subjugation of the producer to the drones of society prevail, eternal peace of necessity remains a beautiful dream. Indeed, it is futile to expect the cessation of war in a society founded on struggle and strife. To talk about abolition of war in our present mercantile and capitalistic society means to indulge in cant. The realization of the beautiful dream of eternal peace is left to a higher stage of culture and civilization, when men will have left behind them the inheritance of barbaric ages, the so-called struggle for existence between men and men; when commodities will be manufactured, not for profit and speculation, but for use and enjoyment; when man's power will not be degraded into a purchasable commodity; when the soil and all its bounty will be considered the legitimate inheritance of all human beings, irrespective of race, class or sex distinctions; when reason and the best instincts of human nature will be the sole guides of conduct.

Eternal peace is possible only in a society founded on the principle of brotherly co-operation. Philistine morality, preaching and exhortation, are as little likely to bring about eternal peace as conjuring. Without a conscious evolution of economic conditions we may clamor till doomsday, but there will be no peace.

XXII. THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

There can be no "brotherhood of men" without the corresponding sisterhood of women; the so-called "rights of men" will remain a dead letter until the rights of women shall have been attained. There can be no equality among men as long as the equality of women with men is not recognized. A "free man," in the true sense of the term, can be born of and brought up only by a free mother. A man cannot be actually free as long as his sisters, his wife and daughter are slaves. He cannot be a good citizen as long as they are deprived of the rights of citizenship.

A true democracy is unthinkable without the full and unequivocal recognition of the civic rights of women. Reason, justice and practical considerations are on the side of the champions of women's rights. Ignorance, superstition and aristocratic tendencies are against the emancipation of women from their subjugation to the so-called stronger sex.

Can there be any doubt as to the attitude of the Socialists of America towards this problem? There may be some diversity of opinion as to the ways and means of solving the problem, however. The Socialists of the old school would like to erect a Chinese wall between the women of the laboring class and their bourgeois sisters, adding to their general theories of class-consciousness, that of class-exclusiveness. The orthodox Socialists forget that women have their own class-interests apart from the interests of the class to which their fathers and husbands belong.

Engel said: "In the family, man is the bourgeois and woman represents the proletariat." The woman of the bourgeois class is a slave while her proletarian sister is a slave of a slave. Why, then, in the name of common sense, should the proletarian woman refuse to struggle with her bourgeois sister side by side as far and as long as their interests as a class, as women, are identical?

The proletarian woman can not expect her emancipation before the entire sex is emancipated. She has a double burden to bear, the burden of a woman and the burden of a proletarian. She belongs at one and the same time to two exploited, downtrodden and disinherited classes. To demand from her that she should forget her sex class-interests for

her social-economic interests is the climax of absurdity. We might as well ask a negro slave to forget his double chains of racial and economic slavery and renounce any attempt to free himself from the yoke of the white slave holder in order to reserve all his energies for the general struggle of the laboring class against their exploiters.

Is not the political disfranchisement of women in all civilized countries actually identical with political slavery? Is economic emancipation imaginable without political rights? That the male proletarian is an exploiter of the female proletarian is an undeniable fact. Is there any sense in demanding that she devote all her energies to improve the condition of her exploiters in expectation that her own fate may improve indirectly, instead of uniting with others of her class in demanding political freedom. Only by gaining political rights will the proletarian woman become a political power, and then she will be able to help more effectively in the struggle of the proletarian class against capitalism.

Another objection to the co-operation between women of all classes for the purpose of conquering political rights advanced by some orthodox Socialists is that the emancipation of women cannot be accomplished under our present social economic system. This objection is hardly true. If the women of the United States, for instance, should seriously demand political rights, they would obtain them. That the women of the United States have no political rights is not wholly because men oppose it, but chiefly because the women themselves have not become conscious of their class needs. Superficial observers may think lightly about women's clubs and sneer at the club-woman. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that these seemingly insignificant institutions perform quietly and unostentatiously a useful missionary function in developing a class-conscious political woman movement. That this movement is bound in the near future to crystalize into a direct demand for civic rights for women is certain.

What the effects of the political emancipation of women on the prospects of Socialism in the United States would be is a very interesting question. It is true there are fewer women Socialists in the country than men. Even the wives of many Socialists are indifferent or outspokenly opposed to Socialism.

The propaganda of Socialism among them has been neg-

lected. Furthermore, women have not had the development which comes from working with their peers for a common master. Each woman has been trained to look out for her own exploiter on whom she is to be doubly dependent. It has, therefore, been more difficult for them to recognize their common interest. The recognition of Socialism comes from a consciousness of class interests and organization is promoting that consciousness.

Women are as easily interested in the new social economic theories as men, but their mode of reasoning is different, and the spurs to their interest must be made to their feminine needs.

It ought to be easy to prove to women that the transformation from a capitalistic system to a collectivist one will be to her gain. As a child, a girl, a wife, or a mother she is at a great disadvantage in this industrial age. Her training is such as to fit her for an inferior position in society. She is expected to appear at the best advantage in the matrimonial show-window as a waiting commodity or ware. As marriage is considered to be her final destination, all the qualities and graces calculated to please her future sovereign are carefully developed, all those likely to repel him are as carefully repressed. The approval of man is her objective aim, and her economic dependence stimulates competition among the marriageable women and degrades them.

Nothing is more pitiable than a girl hunting for a husband. The bourgeois woman in such a case is more pitiable than her proletarian sister. Accustomed to a certain ease of life, unfit to compete industrially, she is entirely at the mercy of the fluctuations in the matrimonial market.

This market, with all its humiliation and indignity, is being contracted by the disintegrating influences of industrial activity, which are bearing also upon family life. The standard of life among men is advancing in inverse ratio to their ability to earn a living; the uncertainty of employment, the demoralizing influence of constant contact with the lower types of the proletarian woman in shop and factory lead to their disinclination to marry. The economic bondage of capitalism weighs more heavily on the proletarian woman than on the man. Her lower physical standard, her legal disability, her political disfranchisement make her an unwelcome and dangerous rival wherever machine production is intro-

duced, so that unenviable as is the life of the married proletarian woman the life of the single woman is more so. A lonely life filled with monotonous toil, cramped by insufficient wages leads to a miserable old age. The solution of the woman problem must follow the evolutionary lines of the man problem. Her economic emancipation must follow her political emancipation. She is now entering upon the class-consciousness of the latter; that attained, her recognition of the next step will quickly follow and all effort to keep the proletarian woman apart from the bourgeois woman until after their political enfranchisement is the work of a remnant of capitalistic instinct dormant in proletarian man.

XXIII. THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

In its solicitude for the preservation of species, nature implanted in the heart of the animal the instinct of affection for offspring. Even the most ferocious beasts of prey—the tiger and lion, are endowed with the instinct of love for their progeny. The higher an animal species stands on the ladder of evolution, the longer is the period of its helpless infancy, the better the care given it during that period.

That the instinct of attachment to offspring reaches its highest stage of development in the human race is only natural. "Child" is the most pathetic word in the human vocabulary. The human heart does not know any more endearing sight than that of an infant in its touching helplessness and perfect abandon. The human heart is overflowing with tender emotion at the contemplation of the sweet enigma of childhood. In the entire material world there is nothing more sacred, pure and full of radiant hope than childhood with its vast possibilities of development into an ideal maturity. What a dismal desert life without childhood would be! What is a human family without the crowning glory of children?

These and similar considerations and thoughts involuntarily suggest themselves to every student of human society. The development of human society from a herd of half-brutes and savages to a race of civilized and cultured beings may be measured by the kind and degree of care and attention it bestows upon its offspring. The higher a nation stands on the stage of culture and civilization the stronger is its race-consciousness, the more pronounced is the recognition of its duty towards future generations, the more emphatic is its assertion of the rights of children as members of society.

Time and space allow us to point out here only the most important rights of children. In the first instance each and every human child has a right to be well bred physically. It is, therefore, the duty of society to see that no physical wrecks, degenerates, incurably sick, especially those affected with contagious constitutional diseases, should be allowed to burden future generations with their offspring. This duty may appear cruel and tyrannical to those who will be denied by its fulfillment the rights to family life. There is, however, immensely more cruelty in the conscious deterioration of the

human race by the breed of unfortunates, who are, by their very nature, bound to be a burden to themselves and a curse to their fellow beings. We take great care in constantly improving the physical type of our domestic animals by conscious sexual selection, but are reckless in this respect as far as the human race is concerned, as if the human race should be subjected to other laws of evolution than the rest of the animal kingdom.

In our present commercial society the most sacred human relations—the family relations—are corroded by stupid and cruel mercantile considerations and irrational economic conditions. The matrimonial market is a recognized social institution, in the same sense as the board of trade. Pure affection between the representatives of different sexes at the age of maturity seldom furnishes the basis of family life. In most cases love is declared by the “prudent parents” to be mere moonshine and nonsense and young people are miseducated and sacrificed on the altar of mammon. The result of such family life, which is nothing but legalized prostitution, on the progeny must be disastrous. Imbeciles, profligates, professional criminals and degenerates may get the sexual commodity called husband or wife on the matrimonial market if they happen to be financially well situated. The proletarian, however, sound in body and mind he may be, is often denied the privilege of normal matrimonial life, the blessing of healthy and spiritually gifted children, by the existing economic conditions. The result in this case is prostitution not recognized by law. Capitalism this way undermines the very foundation of human society by disintegrating and perverting its basic institution—the family, and causing the degeneration of the race.

The right of children to be well bred physically will be fully inaugurated in the co-operative commonwealth, where the human family will be emancipated from the curse of commercialism, the shams of conventional mercantile morality and the hypocrisy of institutional religion.

The other right of children is the right to the full development of all the faculties of their body and mind by society, to the best advantage of society. In our present capitalistic society there is quite a little done for the educational and professional training of the upper classes, the children of the masses, however,

are more or less left to their own fate. Even in our so-called glorious republic, only an insignificant fraction of the children of the proletariat are able to take advantage of the public schools, while the high schools, colleges and universities exist only for the so-called higher classes. This inequality of educational opportunities tends to perpetuate the social—economic inequalities of our industrial age, to the advantage of the classes and to the detriment of the masses. The accident of birth, not the ability of a child, determines the position it shall occupy in society, owing to the education it will receive or to the denial of any education. The result is that genius often plods behind the plough, while mediocrity occupies a higher position in life. The waste of energy and ability due to such abnormal conditions is beyond calculation. The inequality of opportunities between the child of a capitalist and the child of a proletarian, in respect to the chances to be useful to society to the full extent of their capacity, are striking enough to make all phrases about democracy and equality under our present system odious and contemptible to every fair minded man. The child of the proletarian not only enters the arena of struggle for existence under highly unfavorable conditions in comparison with that of the capitalist, but the disadvantages increase. The exhausting and soul-killing drudgery of physical labor, the humiliation of poverty and insecurity of means of livelihood, with its anxieties and cares, weaken his physical power and dull his mind.

Under the co-operative commonwealth all class distinctions will be abolished. There will be neither tramps nor millionaires, neither proletarians nor capitalists. A human child will be looked upon as precious material for the up-building of society. Society will be directly interested in making the best use of this material to its own best advantage. Education and professional training will be not only free and accessible to all, but obligatory upon all. Ignorance and illiteracy will be banished forever from human society and every talent will find ample field for fruitful activity. The human child will be in the fullest sense installed in its inalienable rights and prerogative.

XXIV. THE SOCIAL EVIL AND COMMERCIALISM.

It is not easy to cure a deep-rooted organic disease, even when the patient is fully aware of his ailment and voluntarily submits to any treatment prescribed by the expert physician or surgeon. The task is indisputably harder, however, when the patient, unconscious of his precarious condition, does not consider himself sick at all, and scorns the idea of medical treatment.

It is not easy to free slaves, conscious of their slavery; it is, however, a far harder task to free slaves who were born, reared and live in the illusion of being free men.

And this is exactly the case with the American proletariat. A European workingman knows that he cannot always get or retain his "job." The average American workingman, however, is still imagining that "jobs" are ready for him as soon as prosperity sets in, and that prosperity may be brought about by professional politicians of one or the other of the old parties. He scorns the idea of being a slave, because he does not see and feel his chains with his eyes and hands, as Thomas the doubter, felt the wounds on the body of Jesus Christ. The American proletarian is still living in the illusion that by dint of perseverance and a turn of good luck, he may become a capitalist himself, and then treat his fellow workers as he is now treated by his master. He is himself a capitalist in spirit, his ethics and philosophy of life are those of his masters. If he objects to capitalistic rule at all, he does it on narrow, personal grounds. He would like to be an exploiter himself, and has little, if any, objection to exploitation in itself. We know these are hard assertions. But truth is more important than the friendship of Plato.

The task of Socialism is to open the eyes of the proletariat of the United States to its actual condition, to make it feel and realize the weight of its chains, and to abandon its capitalistic philosophy of life and code of ethics. Until this is accomplished, the Socialistic movement cannot expect to be a power in the land. The best means to accomplish this is to prove that Socialism is not a theory but a conscious evolutionary movement; to use the facts of actual life as an illustration of the real condition of the proletariat; to allow the modern Thomas, the doubter, to touch with his hands the

bleeding wounds of his own class, of his brothers, sisters, wives and children.

If the male proletarian is a slave, the female proletarian is a slave of slaves. If the male proletarian is compelled to sell his working power, his muscles, nerves and blood to the capitalist or starve; if he is degraded to a simple machine producing wealth for somebody else, nay, to a mere appendage of a dead machine—his mother, sister, sweetheart or wife, under similar conditions, is frequently compelled to drop lower even than that, to lose even the dignity of an animal, and sell her person for the privilege of leading the miserable vegetation (it cannot be called life) of a sexual slave, of a prostitute. Prostitution is the direct consequence of commercialism, of a state of society in which human beings are considered a mere commodity, salable and purchasable for money like any other commodity. Prostitutes are proletarians in the first instance, and prostitution is a phenomenon of social pathology due to the same causes as those which produce the proletarian class.

In the period of the decadence of Greece and Rome, the institution of slavery was shaken, and mercantilism raised its head for the first time in the history of the West. Indigent women appeared, who were dependent for their existence on their sexual nature. The first professional prostitutes were "freed slaves." Prostitution or sexual slavery was at once recognized as a social institution. In the middle ages the class of prostitutes was organized into a guild or trade union, and enjoyed legal recognition in the person of a yearly elected "queen" of prostitutes. This queen was duly sworn in by the government and empowered to prosecute all "scab" prostitutes. At that period the rule of the male over the female in human society was in full sway, and even the fathers, brothers and some of the proletarian women looked with complacency on such institutions as the "*jus primae noctis*." The alleged infidelity of a wife was punished by compulsory prostitution for life. Municipalities engaged in the business of running houses of ill-fame. Even some of the popes of Rome kept such houses, from which they derived a part of their princely income (Sixtus IV., for instance). Rome never was especially scrupulous about the source of the money flowing to it, according to its own proverb, "*non olet*" ("It does not smell"—that is, ill-gotten money).

The rapid spread of protestantism and syphilis put an end to the institutional period of sexual slavery. The discovery of America and the general development of commerce ushered in the most typical and perfect form of commercialism—our modern industrial or capitalistic era. More perfect methods have been applied to the trade in human flesh called prostitution. Sexual slavery has been turned into a regular branch of international trade. Hundreds of thousands of “free” proletarian women are enticed by professional agents into dismal abodes of vice, standing under the official or secret protection of the police, and kept there in order to eke out a miserable existence for themselves and create fortunes for their “employers.” These professional agents travel from one end of the globe to the other in search of fresh sexual slaves destined to take the place of the rapidly used-up old ones. The demand for additional bands of slaves in some localities, where there is a prospect of even a temporary influx of people is eagerly watched by these agents and met by them promptly, as in the case of fairs or army manœuvres.

Where do all the professional prostitutes come from? This is a highly interesting question. Any one knowing the nature of women, not from the point of view of a man whose mind is poisoned with ideas belonging to the pestilential atmosphere of sexual profligacy, but from the point of view of a son, brother or husband, will admit that no innocent woman will take refuge in professional prostitution, even under the pressure of the direst need; that an honest woman brought up in the pure atmosphere of love and devotion, will prefer suicide to sexual slavery. In fact, the professional prostitute has fallen gradually down the inclined plane of professional vice till she has reached a stage where there is no hope of a decent life for her. Economic conditions compel the proletarian to send his own daughters, usually before they reach maturity, into the industrial field, where they compete with him. They succeed in lowering his earnings, but themselves get wages that are ridiculously insufficient to cover their most urgent needs. The young girl knows little of the perfidy of life, nothing of the beastly meanness of the male animal lurking in almost every man. She is young and perhaps beautiful. She wants to live and enjoy life like her more fortunate sisters. Her earnings do not allow her even to dress herself decently. Her cousin proletarian, with whom she works, cannot afford to marry her,

although he loves her dearly. Suppose she works in one of the mammoth department stores. The manager notices that she is poorly dressed and thinks that this may hurt his trade. He tells her she must dress better or quit the job. "But I do not earn enough even to pay my board," answers the girl in despair. "Have you no gentleman friend who will help you?" is the cynical suggestion of the manager, who perhaps is himself not disinclined to be for a while this friend in need. But then there is a whole class of professional and unprofessional young men who want to live and enjoy life, but cannot afford to keep up a family on a standard corresponding to their ideal of living decently. The proletarian girl has no trouble in finding a friend, and gets along for a time in the bliss of "first love," at least on her part. The friend betrays her. She loses faith in human nature, turns cynical, and after a few such experiences engages in prostitution as a "side line." Then, little by little, the "side line" turns into a regular profession, and she is lost.

Who will dare to throw a stone at the modern proletarian Magdalene? Did we not, as members of the present society, deliberately drive her to her fate? Is the prostitute not punished enough in that she stands in need of our Pharasaic compassion and charity? This unfortunate daughter of the proletariat wants justice, not charity! Is the capitalistic class any more moral than the class of proletarians? Is not commercialism permeating all the philosophy of life of the middle class? Does not the matrimonial market of the "upper classes" bear a purely commercial aspect? Do not young men and women of so-called "respectable families" look chiefly for pecuniary advantages in their matrimonial affairs? Are not many matrimonial unions sanctioned by law and church worse than prostitution, because the element of dire need as an excuse is eliminated?

Proletarians! are your sisters, daughters and sweethearts in danger under the present economic system? Save them from sexual slavery by abolishing the system enslaving your own class.

XXV. SHOULD TRADE UNIONS ENTER POLITICS?

What would you think of the South African Boers, if in their struggle with England, they should refuse to take advantage of the very best modern weapons of warfare, preferring the use of bows, arrows, spears or other paraphernalia of ante-deluvian arsenals? To put this question is to answer it. No sane person would attempt to argue against the proposition, that in order to have the ghost of a show of success, one must fight with weapons just as efficient as those of the enemy, and meet the adversary on his own grounds and premises if possible.

And yet there are quite a number of people who would fain make believe, that the best way to improve the condition of the workingmen as a class is to turn them into political eunuchs, to emasculate them politically. These would be friends of the workingmen pretend to be the true and the only true champions of simon-pure trade-unionism and like to pose as opponents to the introduction of the virus of political corruption into labor organizations. According to the dicta of these simon-pure trade-unionists the struggle between laborers and exploiters is a purely economic struggle and has nothing to do with politics. Nay—even more than that. “The introduction of politics into trade unions”—so the simon-purists maintain—“would result in the dissolution of labor organizations.”

Let us now examine the arguments just briefly mentioned and stated. First of all, let us see if it is true, that the struggle between labor and its exploiters is a purely economic struggle. Who runs our national, state and municipal administration, if not the exploiters of labor and their hired servants? Why do they spend millions in “educational campaigns” in order to gain political power and influence? Are they taking all this trouble out of pure love of country and the “dear people?” Of course not. The exploiters of labor and their obedient hirelings, the professional politicians, certainly engage in practical politics, for the *economic power* it gives them over those who are “not in politics” or play in it the part of underdog. As masters of the legislative and executive power the exploiters of labor may and do enact laws and execute and enforce them according to their own sweet will and discretion. As commanders of the regular army and

the militia they direct this tremendous, trained physical power wherever and whenever they want it, in order to accomplish results desirable for themselves, for instance the intimidation and subjection of "riotous" laborers, or the creation of new colonial markets. As owners of the press, as patrons of the pulpit, as endowers of universities, and as political bosses, they educate generation after generation in a way and manner favorable to their class interests. The exploiters of labor know very well that it is futile to try to draw a line between the economic and political domains of power and influence. They use their accumulated wealth for the acquirement of political power, and use this power for the purpose of increasing their wealth. Politics and economics cannot be divorced from each other in our time of modern industrialism and so-called "political democracy"—every political leader will tell you this, if you happen to gain his confidence in a moment of frankness.

If this is true in respect to the exploiters of labor, can it be otherwise in respect to the exploited laborer? If politics proves to be the mightiest weapon in the hands of the capitalists, would it not prove suicidal on the part of labor organizations to keep out of politics? "Politics are corrupt," claim the simon-pure trade unionists. Granted that this is true, we still ask these venerable advocates of non-resistance to political evil the following pertinent questions. Is the fact that a weapon is misused by some miscreants an argument against its rational and beneficial use? Should we refuse the use of a sharp knife for cutting bread, because some criminal uses a sharp knife for cutting his victim's throat? Are not the exploited laborers committing an offense of omission in refusing to become a factor in politics, because the capitalist and his retainers are guilty of the crime of commission in using politics as a means of perpetuating and intensifying their dominion over labor? But the "pure and simple" trade-unionists are ready with the retort that they are not objecting to the exercise of civic duties by the laborers as individuals, but as members of a labor organization. The flimsiness of this sophistic distinction without a difference is too obvious to need further elucidation. If the task of a labor organization consists in fighting for the interests of labor, and the best weapon in this struggle proves to be political action—why then in the name of common sense should not labor organizations as such enter into politics and

engage in the battle with capitalism, using its own weapon and standing on its own ground? The fear that differences in political views may lead to the disintegration of labor organizations is ill considered and without foundation. Indeed it is nothing but a bugaboo to scare the timid and bewilder, the weak-minded. The average laborer at present knows very well, that he cannot expect anything from the state of which he is nominally a free citizen, nor from the middle class parties any thing except gross and vulgar flattery before election and neglect, and injustice, after election. If he still votes for the middle class parties it is because he is not aware of the existence of a great, honest, bonafide Socialistic political organization. And it is the sacred duty of the trade union to lift and educate its members to a higher plane of aspirations than the mere selfish increase of wages and decrease of working hours of those of his fellow-toilers who happen to belong to his union. The sacred duty and high privilege of the trade unions consist in making their members not only better fed and better clad animals but in making them better, nobler men, more self-sacrificing citizens, true Socialists, who stand first and last for the broader interests of all toiling humanity as opposed to its oppressors and exploiters.

But political action, far from being a menace to trade-unionism, is as a matter of fact its most reliable support. The real foundation of trade-unionism is skilled labor, as was the case with the guilds of the middle ages. The most successful unions are those whose craft demands the highest individual training, and it is hardest to organize unions among common laborers. The tendency of our modern industry is to do away as far as possible with the necessity for skill on the part of the laborers. In other words, the tendency of modern industrialism is in the direction of undermining the very foundation of trade-unionism. It is only by conscientious and systematic exercise of political action that the laborers may expect to battle successfully for their economic rights.

So far we have spoken only of the honest bona-fide opponents of political action on the part of trade unions. There is however a large number of so-called "labor leaders" who oppose political action from purely selfish motives. Using their influence over their over-confident but not over-bright fellow-workers in the interest of some old party politician, they derive personal benefit from selling this influence to the high-

est bidder. These men are traitors to the cause of their own class and are the first to raise their voice against political action. Honest workers should regard such protest with suspicion and investigate the motives which prompt it.

XXVI. MAY DAY AND WORKING-CLASS HOLIDAYS.

It is rather remarkable that social economy and socialistic literature pay so little attention to the problem of securing to the proletariat possibilities of employing the little leisure allotted to it in our age of wage slavery in a way and manner tending to raise the children of toil to a higher level of physical and spiritual enjoyment and recreation. The sociological and educational value of holidays for the working class can hardly be overestimated. The real character of men is revealed more in the way and manner they employ their leisure than in their work and business occupation. In the shop, the factory, the office, any man in any position of life is to a great extent deprived of the freedom of action and behavior by the strict code of rules and regulations of the trade or profession in which he is engaged. This is especially true of proletarians, who are compelled to submit to an almost military discipline during their working hours. The ruling classes know that a Sunday spent in drunken riot, gambling and dissipation is not likely to tend to make the workingman fit for his labors during the rest of the week. That is the reason, or one of the reasons, rather, why the labor employers and their handmaid, the institutional church, are so solicitous about Sunday rest for the working class. At the last Paris world's fair, among the numerous congresses that were held, one was exclusively devoted to the problem of insuring a strict observance of Sunday as a day of rest for the proletariat. The members of that congress were almost exclusively clergymen and capitalists, people whose life is actually a continuous holiday. Not one representative of the wage workers or their interests took part in the deliberations of that congress and very few of them, if any, knew that such a congress held its sessions at that time in Paris.

It is time that the proletariat should emancipate itself from the paternalistic care of the ruling classes. It is time that the actual creators of the wealth of nations should take control not only of the tools of production they work with, but also of their leisure and holidays in a class-conscious and rational way. The institutional churches would fain turn Sundays and all holidays into barren and

dreary days of praying and devotion to a supernatural being whose sole agents and representatives they pretend to be; they would fain close on Sundays and holidays all places of amusement, recreation and instructive pastimes, as theaters, lecture rooms, libraries and museums. By these means they would deprive the working class of the only possibility of taking advantage of these institutions. A puritanic Sunday and holiday may be a good thing for the ruling classes, but it is a powerful agency in the hands of the institutional church for the spiritual impoverishment and debasement of the working classes in the interests of the social economic parasites of our industrial age.

The wage workers need strictly enforced Sunday and holiday laws more than any other class of people but not the Sundays and holidays of puritan times. The proletariat needs Sundays and holidays conducive to physical rest and recreation, to spiritual elevation, to intellectual enrichment, to development and gratification of artistic tastes and inclinations, to the consciousness of the higher nature and worth of the human race as a whole. Such Sundays and holidays are incompatible with so-called church and legal or religious and state holidays. The religious and state holidays do not appeal any more to the imagination and inner feeling of modern proletarians.

The holidays of the wage workers should be taken from the historical events, affecting the fate of that class, from the annals of the struggle, conscious or unconscious, of that class for its emancipation from the thralldom of exploitation by the ruling classes. Such holidays would tend to develop a spirit of brotherhood and solidarity among workingmen and enlighten them as to the great historical mission of their class, a mission greater and holier than any mission of any other class in any time in the memory of men. Such holidays would tend to spiritualize and ennoble the proletariat and to discipline it into a conscious host of workers in the cause of a higher civilization, founded on the recognition of the solidarity of the interests of all the actual producers of national wealth on the globe irrespective of age, sex, race and color.

Such an international proletarian holiday is the May day observed in all civilized countries of the world. It is a day set for the express purpose of manifesting this solidarity of interests. On this day the laborer of France extends his hand

to the workmen of Germany, the American wage worker to his brother in Spain, the Indian riah, the Chinese coolie, the Russian mushik. On this day the polyglot slaves and semi-slaves of the world try to make themselves understood by each other in the international language of human brotherhood and sisterhood. The persecuted, the downtrodden, the exploited, the disinherited of all climes and lands lighten their burden by the consciousness, that their sufferings and sacrifices are shared by others, that the recognition of the superiority of right, justice and reason over might, privileges and superstition is growing every day stronger and stronger, that the hour is near when a new civilization of solidarity and co-operation will be built on the ruins of the old civilization of strife and competition.

On May day all the roaring waves of the mighty ocean, all the high mountains of the continents are not able to stifle and silence the tide of warm human sympathy between fellow sufferers from unjust and irrational social economic conditions. Socialism, the great international movement in the interest of social economic justice, indorses heartily the celebration of May day, not only as a means of propaganda of its ideas and ideals, but as an attempt to unite the proletarians of all nations in one harmonious concert of mutual love and helpfulness. Socialism has especial reason to celebrate this day in the United States, where all kinds of political and social economic superstitions, unchecked individualistic aspirations and the reckless spirit of "let alone" are so dominant; where commercialism and money-making cynicism reach the degree of a national vice. In a country so typically capitalistic as the United States there is more need to emphasize the solidarity of proletarian's interests than anywhere else. The Socialists of America celebrate May day as the real international proletarian holiday, a holiday not prescribed by the institutional church of the official state, not a holiday imposed upon the laboring classes by the ruling classes, but as a genuine workmen's rationalistic and class-conscious holiday, as a precursor of the many holidays in the future calendar of the proletariat.

XXVII. THE CAPITALIST PRESS.

The action of mind on mind, by the means of articulated sounds called language, belongs to the most subtle distinctions between man and animal. The degree of development of the language of a given human group is justly considered as a true standard of the stage of culture and civilization attained by it. Language—as a means of expressing desires, thoughts and ideas—developed along with the development of desires, thoughts and ideas, is subjected to the same natural laws as any other manifestation of the human mind. A savage or degenerate man cannot have the desires, thoughts and ideas of highly cultured and noble types of humanity; hence the difference in their vocabulary, their language. Noble aspirations, deep thoughts and high ideals will necessarily be expressed in noble, deep and refined language. The reverence with which we meet noble aspirations, deep thought and high ideals is naturally transplanted to the form and shape they are clothed in—to the language. This explains the reverence and awe with which the ancients considered the so-called sacred books, or bibles; the reverence and awe with which the simple-minded man of the people still sincerely regards the Hebrew Bible. Only superficial spirits and men without principles may scoff at this reverence and awe. Thoughtful people, on the contrary, will look upon this fact as a sign of healthy moral condition and try to transfer this reverence to a more worthy subject, from the myths and superstitions of a half barbaric age to the enlightened philosophy of life, of an age of science and art.

It was always a source of deep gratification to the writer of these lines to watch the implicit faith in printed matter expressed with touching childish simplicity, by Russian peasants for instance, when he considered the contempt with which every educated and cultured man is compelled to feel and entertain toward the prostituted press of our shameless, profane and frivolous mercantile civilization. And it occurred to him at such moments that the ignorant peasant, this simple child of a simple people, is, after all, better off morally and even mentally than the blase inhabitant of a large metropolis, accustomed to swallow the filth and poison of a thoroughly degraded daily press as a source of information about what

is going on in the beautiful world that is turned into hell by irrational, unjust and brutalising social institutions. These institutions founded on the inhuman principles of gross materialism, of exploitation of man by man, of parasitism on one side and degrading slavish toil on the other; of brute force on one side and mute subjection on the other, breed low aspirations, shallow thought, vulgar taste and coarse ideas in the ruling and ruled class alike. And this leads to a lowered moral and mental currency of the press, that always was and will be a true image of the actual spiritual condition of its age. Was and will be, we said. It would be, however, an injustice to say without any qualification that the press of the present age actually represents a true image of the spiritual life of our time. In many instances the reverse of it is the fact; it represents its distorted image, its hideous caricature.

The incongruity between actual conditions and its reflection in the press is a direct result of the deep-rooted contradictions and contrasts of our age. The marvelous achievements in the field of applied sciences, in the domain of purely technical progress, form a deep contrast with the stagnation and partial regress in social and political institutions of the modern state. The comparatively highly developed modes of production and distribution of material wealth are entirely out of harmony with the profit and wage system. Socialized production and competition produced a small class of drones of society with so-called vested rights to fabulous treasures on one side, and a vast number of people devoid of all property, depending on their ability to work and chances of finding opportunity to sell it to the highest bidder on the market for a living—the proletariat—on the other. The progress in production and distribution has raised the standard of life of the masses of the people, and has at the same time increased their dissatisfaction and unrest.

The world may be considered as growing better or worse by idle philosophers, according to their standpoint, but the people are not growing any happier, that is certain. Our ruling philosophy of life is thoroughly individualistic, while our material progress is due to the enhanced growth of socialization in industrial and commercial activity. These and many other contradictions, contrasts and incongruities of our age lead inevitably not only to deterioration of our spiritual life, to cynicism,

frivolity and absence of all principles except that of boundless egotism, it leads to conventional lies, to hypocrisy, to cant, to double-facedness and insincerity. Language, instead of being a true expression of the human mind, is largely a means of misrepresenting it. Hypocrisy, however, is the tribute paid by vice to virtue, and is, therefore, to be taken as an encouraging sign of a better, truer, nobler future. "The times are ripe and rotten ripe for change," and they would change rapidly if two factors would not co-operate in delaying this change for the better.

One of these factors is the indolence and ignorance of the masses, who, like children when feeling uncomfortable, indulge in a hearty and lusty cry without being able to give themselves an intelligent account of what ails them. The other is the conscious endeavor on the part of the ruling classes to perpetuate their power. Armed with knowledge and physical power, utilizing all the latest results of science and backed by carefully trained, drilled and equipped armies, the ruling classes recognize the supreme importance of keeping the exploited and disinherited masses in dense ignorance of their real social condition, of demoralizing them by sensationalism, of obscuring their spiritual vision by petrified "churchianity," of flattering their vanity with vulgar demagogic tricks, of feeding their imagination with pictures of low life. The current press is, therefore, called by the ruling classes to do this ignominious work. Instead of trying to educate the people, to lead them in all walks of life, to tell them the truth about everything, to elevate their morals, to ennoble their ideals, they follow the policy of perverting truth, of catering to the lowest instincts of the masses, of dishing out before them with especial relish in minutest detail descriptions of crime, vice and degradation. The private life, acts and amusements of the mighty and rich are described in order to dazzle the eyes of the thoughtless multitude. Common gossip, wire-pulling for some dishonest speculation on the stock exchange, deliberate prevarications and misrepresentations in the interests of some political clique or party, blackmail and calumny of opponents—are considered as perfectly legitimate in our current press. Fools are represented as sages, pretentious charlatans as eminent specialists, salaried back-yard politicians as statesmen, the purposeless jaunts of

superficial and superfluous office-holders as earnest journeys in the interests of the commonwealth.

The most typical representation of our daily press is the Sunday edition of our large dailies. What is a Sunday edition of a "great daily" paper? Dear reader! You surely watched your servant, housekeeper or landlady sweep your room or rooms carefully every day, gather the heap of rubbish and throw it out. This heap of rubbish is a symbol of our daily press. The same servant, housekeeper or landlady does her sweeping with special care some one particular day in the week, usually Saturday. That heap of rubbish is comparatively larger on that special day of housecleaning. Sunday edition of a daily paper is nothing else but a public housecleaning, or rather the result of a thorough weekly housecleaning—an extraordinary huge heap of rubbish. Sensations, wholesale or retail murder, political lies, crimes against decency, suicides, hold-ups, would-be scientific notes written by a pseudo-scientist, coarse jokes, vulgar pictures, stories calculated to gratify the coarse taste of the reader, the senseless babble and self-adulation of prize fighters—this is "the stuff" that fills the paper calculated to amuse and edify you. And the pity of it is that this "stuff" is often the only mental food of many a workingman or small trader.

The mercantile and capitalistic system maintains a press that serves best its purposes—that is natural. But the more urgently is felt the necessity of a decent, truthful, high-minded, humanitarian great daily paper, that would fearlessly expose all the crimes and vices of our social system and hold before the eyes of the public the noble ideals of Socialism. The tendency to start Socialistic papers in all nooks and corners of the United States is a sign of the healthy growth of Socialism, but a professional Socialistic press cannot reach the people as well as a daily newspaper, and cannot have its influence. This splitting of forces is rather to be regretted, as one central Socialistic organ would have the advantage of material, just as well as moral and mental force. And as capitalism can be abolished and the co-operative commonwealth can be established only by a Socialistically enlightened proletariat, and as the daily press is one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, agent shaping the public opinion, public sentiment and public conscience the

need of a Socialistic press, at the same time popular and instructive, newsy and high-minded, fascinating but not sensational, truthful and fair, is a pious desire of all thoughtful Socialists.

XXVIII. MODERN PHILISTINISM.

Do you know what element of the population of the civilized countries is in modern times the most stubborn and persistent opponent of social economic progress? Do you know what class is the staunchest supporter of the old, delapidated institutions and tries to stem the mighty tide of the oncoming social revolution? Do you think those enemies of progress and friends of stagnation are the ignorant, the lowly, the scum and dregs of society? By no means. They are the Philistines, belonging to the "better" and "best" class of society. If I were a painter I would impersonate the Philistine as a small burgher in a night-cap, dressing-gown and slippers. Indeed, the type of a Philistine is so widely predominant in the middle class that it appears to an extent characteristic of the entire class. Even the most active and shrewd business man of our hustling and bustling times turns into a Philistine once he leaves his shop, factory or office. If he does not put on actually a night-cap, dressing-gown and slippers as soon as he leaves his business place, he does it spiritually, so to say. There are, of course, a variety of undertypes of a Philistine, but they all have certain general features and family likeness.

What are, then, the characteristic features of this type of our middle class? In the first instance the Philistine is a pronounced individualist, in the most elementary sense of the word. His spiritual horizon is extremely limited by indolence, almost morbid selfishness and prejudice. All his life is devoted to pursuits calculated to promote his own petty personal interests. A Philistine may happen to inherit from his parents a kind heart. In that case he may be a member of the Society for the Protection of Dumb Animals. He will, however, not move a finger for the protection of human children and frail women against the brutalizing influences of the profit system in general and capitalism in particular. The proletariat has actually to turn into a herd of dumb animals in order to deserve the compassion and gracious protection of the "humane" Philistine. Or a Philistine may engage, in a passive way, of course, in charity, degrading the giver and the receiver simultaneously. He will try to help the "deserving" poor. The material need of a few who happen to come to his attention does not suggest to his dull mind the general prob-

lem of poverty, its causes and its effects on victims and society at large. The idea and conception of social-economic justice does not find room enough in the Philistine's brain. Poor people should not insist upon rights according to Philistine social philosophy, but should be humble like Uriah Heap in order to be classed with the deserving. A Philistine may be a member of some church and even go to the extent of teaching in a Sunday school or attending revival meetings. He loves his precious self so dearly that he is not satisfied with insuring for himself a comfortable life here on earth, but is inclined to procure for his soul a snug corner in the other world. The humanitarian, moral side of the world religions, with its obligations towards society at large and sacrifices of interests and comforts, is a sealed letter to the Philistine. The latter knows that the proletariat does not feel at home in churches and sees in it a sign of degradation of the plain people, instead of blaming the church for losing its hold on the plain people. Not that the Philistine is necessarily a bigoted fanatic of religion in general. A Philistine may be an infidel occasionally, and yet view with alarm the irreligiosity of the plain people. According to the conception of Philistines, religion is the only thing that keeps the common people from committing all kinds of crime. In case a Philistine happens to be an infidel, he may be a member of an ethical culture society and profess crude animal evolutionism with the struggle for existence, survival of the fittest and other ill-digested half-truths, which, when applied by them to social-economic affairs, mean downright anarchistic barbarity and brutal, imbecile Nietzscheism. The most characteristic features of Philistines are, however, not their crude theories about state or society, but their utter indifference to social-economic problems.

A Philistine may in a general way be interested in politics, etc. He will, however, stay away from the polls when the weather is not especially inviting, or vote against his convictions in order not to "lose his vote." The Philistine may be disgusted with the corruption of politicians, but does not realize that politics and politicians are the result of his own criminal indifference to public affairs. Some Philistines are quite radical in their views, well read and informed on political, economic and sociological lines. Their moral cowardice, the lack of courage of their convictions, paralyzes their latent use-

fulness. Leading themselves a life of sordid selfishness, the Philistines decry every disinterested, public-spirited man as a crank. Philistinism is certainly a social malady, a moral sickness of deep and far-reaching significance. It is nothing but Philistinism that causes people to abstain from the sacred duty of exercising their civic prerogatives. It is Philistinism that leaves the administration of all public affairs in the hands of incompetent and dishonest professional drones of society—politicians. It is Philistinism that diverts the best forces of the nation from public service to private pursuits. It is Philistinism that chills and kills generous aspirations for public weal as soon as it is kindled in the breast of a youth. Philistinism is responsible for the sordid materialistic tendencies of our times, for low aspirations and absence of ideals in social life, for depriving modern life of the very highest and noblest motives.

Socialists must look upon Philistinism as its deadliest enemy and fight it with all its might. And Philistinism is not a formidable enemy, after all, if we take into consideration that it is a merely negative phenomenon, a kind of a hypnotic condition of a considerable part of society. Let us first of all shake off from ourselves all Philistinism; arouse in ourselves and then instill in others a passion for social-economic justice, the righteousness of modern times. What we need is not a purely intellectual recognition of our ideals, aims and aspirations only, but a deep, emotional power, a world-saving enthusiasm, like that experienced at the dawn of Christianity and on the eve of the French revolution. We need at present more prophets than professors, more inspiration than cool reasoning. One great poet would do more for our movement than a hundred economists.

XXIX. POPULAR EDUCATION AS INFLUENCED BY CAPITALISM.

The celebrated German leader of the Social-Democratic party, Comrade Bebel, said once: "In the last instance the solution of all social problems depends on popular education." Indeed the most powerful tool and weapon of the human kind is the intellect. Education is the process of perfecting this tool and weapon. As any other tool or weapon—the intellect may be used for the good and advantage of society or misused for the purpose of furthering apparent individual or class interests to the detriment of society. Education, or rather instruction, does not necessarily improve morals, does not insure against selfishness and other vices of individual hypertrophy. And a highly educated rogue is of course a thousand times more dangerous to society than a stupid ignoramus. There is therefore always an abundance of social abuses in a country where education is monopolized by a few, while the nation at large is buried in dense ignorance. And the stronger numerically the class of the educated in comparison with the "great unwashed" mass of the population, the greater and deeper the social abuses are likely to be. That ratio between the educated and ignorant of any epoch or country may justly be considered as an indicator of the extent and degree of social abuses. It is so easy for the intellectually superior to exploit the ignorant and the temptation is so powerful that only exceptionally high-minded and generous individuals will abstain from doing it or go to the extent of helping the weak in his uneven struggle.

For the thoughtful student and observer of national life, it is not the education of individuals and classes, but the instruction of the masses, that has the highest value. Develop the intellect of the "great unwashed" if you wish to eliminate or at least lessen the possibility of its being exploited by the crafty and unscrupulous few, forming the so-called "higher class." It is a notorious fact that the ruling individuals (kings, czars, popes) and classes (aristocracy, clergy and plutocracy) were and are openly or at heart, opposed to the mental elevation of the masses exploited by them. Parasites thrive best in darkness.

It is obviously of the highest importance to ascertain the

degree of mental instruction actually enjoyed by the people at large by the so-called "lower classes." Unfortunately the statistical data on this subject are very incomplete, as far as the United States is concerned. And yet attempts have been made to generalize these statistical data—among others by my friend, the sociologist, Dr. Daniel Folkmar. Here are some of them relating to Chicago and Milwaukee:

Of all the children that enter the public schools of the two named cities.

1. About one-third go no further than the first grade. •
2. About one-half go no further than the second grade.
3. About two-thirds go no further than the third grade.
4. About three-fourths go no further than the fourth grade.
5. About nine-tenths go half way only through the twelve grades.
6. About ninety-seven in every hundred drop out before reaching the high school.
7. Only three in every thousand finish the entire course; or more exactly the following per cents drop out at each grade:
Grade 1, 32 per cent; 2, 51; 3, 66; 4, 78; 5, 86; 6, 92; 7, 95; 8, 97; 9, 98.6; 10, 99.3; 11, 99.7.

Another line of argument leads to the conclusion that the schooling of the average pupil does not embrace more than three grades. If these numbers are not appalling I do not know what is! The self-complacent average American citizen, is justly proud of the public school system, but he little knows to what extent the people are able to take advantage of it. But maybe Chicago and Milwaukee form an exception as to the duration of school attendance? Ex-State Superintendent C. L. T. Smart of Ohio states that only about 3 per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools ever enter, and from them less than 1 per cent graduate; 50 per cent of the youth enrolled in the public schools of the state do not attend school more than four years; 75 per cent stop attending school before entering the eighth year or grade, and 97 per cent do not attend beyond the eighth year. Dr. Wm. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of education, says in his report of the committee of fifteen: "The average number of pupils of the St. Louis schools in the lowest three years of the course was about 72 per cent of the entire number enrolled. Nearly three fourths of all the pupils of the public schools

are in the studies of the first three years or in primary studies. Six-sevenths of the population of the United States on arriving at the proper age for the secondary education never receive it. Thirty out of thirty-one fail to receive higher education upon arriving at the proper age. Obviously the data of Milwaukee and Chicago are typical for the United States in general. The question now arises—what is the main cause of this remarkably short duration of school attendance? Mr. C. L. T. Smart says: “A majority of the patrons of the public schools cannot do without the labor of their children and therefore cannot give them time to attend school longer.” Prof. D. Folkmar states: “I answer without hesitation that the chief factors are economic conditions. Too many either cannot support their children as they desire, or cannot spare them through a longer period of schooling.”

The Moloch of Capitalism wants to perpetuate itself by the shameful system of child labor keeping the industrial proletariats in ignorance. The free public school proves to be a snare and delusion for the proletarian. And the remedies? Many advocate compulsory education laws. But is not then the state obliged to take care of the children during their schooling; feed, dress and lodge them if their parents are unable to do it? Is not the state in duty bound to make the free public school system “really free and public?” But that would be Socialism pure and simple. And what would the capitalistic Mrs. Grundy say to it?

XXX. OUR MUNICIPAL POLICY.

The founders of the republic of the United States declared for political freedom. Since the birth of our nation, however, a revolution in industry has taken place. Formerly hand or individual labor produced the necessities of life. At present machine labor and socialized production displace individual or hand labor. While in former times it was the imperative duty of government to protect the individual in the possession of property he had produced, at present, a new duty develops upon the state, the duty to protect the whole body of working people against the encroachments of the owners of the means of production, and distribution, the capitalistic class. Thus it develops that the battle for human rights against so-called vested rights, rights of individual property against the rights of men, has become a battle to determine which form of government we shall have in the future—semi-anarchic plutocracy or Social Democracy.

In 1890 three hundredths of 1 per cent of the nation held 20 per cent. of the nation's wealth. Eight and ninety-seven hundredths per cent. of the population held 51 per cent. of the wealth. The middle class, consisting of 28 per cent of the population, held 20 per cent of the wealth. The proletariat consisted of two distinct categories, the comparatively well-to-do, upper strata comprising 11 per cent of the population, held 4 per cent of the wealth. The other—the poor class, the sub-strata of the proletariat—consisting of 52 per cent of the population, held but 5 per cent of the national wealth. This 5 per cent includes personal unproductive property of all kinds. The nation is very rich as a whole, but its riches belong to the vested rights as individual property to a very small minority of exploiters of human toil.

Dr. C. B. Spahr says: "Less than half the families in America are property-less (proletarians), seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while 1 per cent of the families hold more (wealth) than the remaining ninety-nine." These figures prove that by the economic development of modern society this nation has outgrown the old system of government and must modify it to correspond to the new conditions. Political rights without

economic freedom turn into a snare and a delusion. Modern evolutionary Socialism is neither Utopian Socialism, that does not take into consideration the facts of human nature and the actual conditions now prevailing, nor state Socialism, that would fain turn the state into a gigantic capitalistic monopoly, the operation of which could only result in the continued enslavement of the proletariat. Modern Socialism works for political freedom and industrial democracy, based on economic association and insuring individual liberty. The Socialist movement of America is essentially and eminently an evolutionary movement. In the United States the conquest of public power by the dispossessed class cannot be the result of the instantaneous overturning of the present system. It must be the result of persistent and conscious effort, and the work of proletarian organization, on the economic and political field, of the physical and moral regeneration of the laboring class. Charity begins at home. And justice, social economic justice, championed by the Socialists of America, must be established first of all in our municipalities and local legislative and executive public institutions. There is, however, a vast distinction between Socialistic methods of municipal administration and the municipal ownership suggested and sought for by the two old political or new middle-class reform parties, who clamor for city control and ownership for the purposes of cheapening illuminating gas, reducing street car fares, using the large dividends and profits accruing from these enterprises to lighten taxation, etc. Socialism wants to use the municipal administration as a means to inaugurate and achieve a magnificent system of social-economic improvements, to provide employment for the unemployed under conditions impossible under the existing order of affairs, to insure shorter hours and better remuneration to the laboring class and generally to raise the standard of life of all engaged in public service. The middle-class reformers clamor for a business-like administration, that means an administration of exploitation of the proletariat in favor of the capitalist class. Socialism wants immediate economic improvement of the condition of the toilers and producers of wealth, who are, under the present system, deprived of the greater part of their earnings.

By taking hold of municipalities, the Socialists propose to enrich the city treasuries, to relieve the congestion of the

labor market, to insure the children of the poor, school education, to turn the different branches of municipal administration into effective channels of direct usefulness to the people, to improve the sanitary conditions of the parts of the cities that need it most, the quarters inhabited by the working class. The municipal platforms of the Socialistic organizations all over the United States ought to strike at the root of municipal evils—the rule of the old corrupt political parties, backed up by the money power—the rule in the interest of the semi-criminal and exploiting classes. These platforms ought to be drawn on local lines, to meet local conditions, not leaving, however, out of consideration the general principles and aims to be attained by Modern Socialism, the liberation of the wage slave from the capitalistic servitude and degradation of the drudges of industry incident thereto.

It is true that municipal elections offer only partial opportunities for the execution of our general program; but the opportunities are, nevertheless, immense. Let us prove to the nation at large that we are willing and able to manage local affairs to the best interest of the people—the tillers of the ground and toilers of the factories—and the conquest of the national administration will be only a question of time. It is, of course, impossible to give a general outline of local municipal programs for a country so vast and variegated as the United States. The following outline is therefore to be considered as tentative and suggestive only:

1. Such changes and amendments in the state laws and city charter as may be necessary to enable the people to give practical effect to a municipal administration in accordance with the objects and principles of International Socialism.

2. Public construction, ownership and operation of all subways and underground conduits.

3. Public ownership and operation of all street railways, gas and electric-lighting and power plants, telephones and other public utilities, not for profit, but to the best advantage of the consumers.

4. Public construction, ownership and maintenance of modern homes for workingmen on land acquired, or to be, when necessary, acquired by the municipality, to relieve overcrowding and provide healthful environments for the people.

5. Public construction, ownership and maintenance of mu-

municipal hospitals, commodious and of modern equipment, free dispensaries and homes for the aged.

6. Obligatory life and accident insurance for the aid of those who depend on their work for a living, and for old age pensions.

7. Public bath houses, natatoriums, playgrounds, gymnasiums and other similar sanitary and hygienic institutions for the people.

8. The establishment of municipal schools of industrial training, useful and fine arts.

9. All educational facilities to be furnished free to all children of the community, and when necessary, clothing and food.

10. Free legal and medical advice.

11. Abolition of private contract system on public work.

12. Strict civil service rules and merit system of promotion in all departments of public service without exception.

XXXI. WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE MAN WITH THE HOE?

What shall be done with the man with the hoe? Ask a simon-pure Socialist, an orthodox ultra Marxist, who is more of a Marxist than Marx himself, what shall be done with the industrial proletariat. He will tell you all about it as a bright and industrious high school boy, who learned his lesson by heart. He will relate to you the economic theory on which the great teacher of the gospel of modern Socialism built the magnificent edifice of evolutionary social-economics, in a somewhat dogmatic manner. He will emphasize to you the class struggle and class consciousness of the industrial proletariat, the crisis theory and the "inevitableness" of the impending collapse of the entire capitalistic system, owing to the ever-increasing concentration of capital on one side, and the gradual and certain impoverishment of the masses on the other. Das Kapital is his Bible, the more sacred and infallible, the less he understands it. As the Mohammedan conjurer of Alexandria regarded the Koran, he considers Das Kapital as the book of books. He would rather burn all the famous libraries of the world than lose one iota of Das Kapital. If a book contains a truth it must be only a repetition of it, taken from the Koran (viz., Das Kapital). Else it is worthless, because the truth about economic conditions was revealed for all eternity in Das Kapital and nothing can be either added or taken from it without impairing or perverting the truth itself.

Das Kapital deals exclusively with modern industrial conditions, their causes and effects. To conclude from this fact that the interest of the sub-industrial rural proletariat were not near to the heart of Karl Marx, the Darwin of social-economics and great lover of human kind, means to insult the sacred memory of his name. As with all great intellects, the mind of Karl Marx had its limitations. And Marx himself, as all great thinkers, knew its limitations. He knew that it requires more than a lifetime to accomplish, even imperfectly, the gigantic task of introducing truly scientific and rational evolutionary methods in the study of the past and present of human society in one of its phases. Marx knew that to undertake more would be identical with accomplishing nothing. He knew the strength and economy of the concentration of the

mind on one particular field of research and considered the tendency of mental mediocrities *to do it all* just as silly as their pretense of *knowing it all*. Marx did not treat as extensively in his classical work the sub-industrial strata of the proletariat, the rural proletariat as he did the industrial proletariat, simply because it happened to be outside of his particular field of research. That great iconoclasts and critics are turned by the unreasoning crowd of their followers into idols and infallible popes of dogmatized petrified creeds is an irony of fate.

This is precisely the case with Marx, and his orthodox followers: Ask an orthodox Marxist what shall be done with the man with the hoe, the rural proletariat. And you will get the rather startling reply: "This is none of our business." Socialists are interested in the fate of the industrial proletariat, but not in any other class. The man with the empty dinner pail and hammer in his hand is the subject of constant solicitude of the simon-pure Socialist; but the man with the hoe is a stranger to him. Cranks and fanatics always move in abstractions. The proletarian is to them a certain economic category, not a living, suffering, reasoning being with vices and virtues, noble and mean traits of character, animal appetites and idealistic aspirations. Cranks and fanatics are never moved by deep humanitarian sympathy with the sufferings and privations of their fellowmen, but by some fixed idea or craze. The man with the hoe is just as human as the man with the empty dinner pail or hammer in his hand. They both suffer the pangs of hunger and thirst; they both feel tired when overworked, they both feel the inclemency of the weather when poorly housed and dressed, they both feel the degradation of slave-like existence with its insecurity of daily bread for themselves and their families, they both yearn after the attachments of a warm human heart beating in unison with theirs, they both suffer when compelled to see their dear ones,—their parents, brothers, sisters and children,—deprived of the necessities and luxuries of life, they both are in need of salvation from wicked and cruel social-economic conditions, they both scorn degrading charity and demand simple justice. The simon-pure Socialist, however, draws a line of demarkation between the industrial and rural proletarian, and declares the last as unworthy of his attention. Why? Because the man with the

hoe belongs to another economic category than the man with the hammer, because Karl Marx wrote books about the last and did not have time to write books about the other.

The folly of a negative attitude towards the rural proletariat on the part of modern Socialism is recognized in Germany by such high authorities as the best interpreter of Marx—Kautsky, who lately devoted considerable attention to a farmer's platform on Social Democratic principles. But when some leading spirits in the S. D. P. of America made an attempt to formulate a farmers' plank as an integral part of the party platform the howling dervishes of simon-pure Socialism in and outside the S. D. P. raised such a noise that the plan was dropped at its very inception. According to the theories of our native simon-purists of Socialism, American farmers are not proletarians in the mathematical sense of the term, because they own a patch of arid land and a few agricultural implements, even in case this land is heavily mortgaged and the implements not worth more than scrap-iron. Furthermore, agricultural products grow on the soil under sunny skies, instead of being manufactured in the most fitting and scientific way by means of expensive and complicated machinery, with the aid of division of labor within the walls of a dingy and noisy factory. If it were practicable to put in the seeds of cucumbers in one part of a self-acting machine in order to draw jars of pickles from the others, it would be a different proposition. According to the maxims of native, so-called, scientific Socialism, all the land must be monopolized legally by a few capitalists, all the farms must be turned into bonanzas and the farmers work for wages in order to deserve the attention of revolutionary Socialists. The American farmers, as they are at present, may starve, their families deteriorate, their labor products be expropriated by stock exchange and board of trade gambling, without any detriment to the real proletariat, the man with the hammer. The American farmer belongs to a different economic category, to the middle class. And simon-pure Socialism long ago rung the death knell and made all necessary preparation for the funeral of the middle class. That the middle class and small farmers stubbornly refuse to die is, however, their own fault and not that of their undertakers, the ultra-orthodox Marxists. Let the small farmers as such, be crucified by agrarian capitalism and be resurrected as mathematical proletarians

after the approved scientific method devised by the simon-pure Socialists and the last will take good care of the first. Who will dare to laugh at this criminal folly!

Fortunately, there is a Modern Socialist movement in America, a movement broad and humanitarian enough to embrace in its folds the tillers of the soil as well as the toilers of the factory, a movement of social-economic justice to all who produce and labor for the common weal of the nation, without hair-splitting as to mathematical and economic categories of the proletarians. It will stand or fall as the champion of the cause of all those who are exploited by the parasites of society. The Modern Socialist movement of America will not lose time in fruitless mental gymnastics, artificial classifications and labeling of economic sub-species, but work out in the near future special planks for its general political platform, designed to alleviate immediately the economic abnormities of our farming population. The hands of the man with the hammer and the man with the hoe will be clasped in token of brotherly co-operation in the struggle against their common enemy—the present profit and competitive system and in the reconstruction of society at large on the basis of Socialistic ideals and ideas.

XXXII. STATE INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE AND OLD AGE PENSIONS.

The labor problem occupies a conspicuous place in the public mind of our time. The insecurity of the economic condition of the wage worker is undoubtedly one of the principal causes of the prominence given to the discussion of social-economic conditions and theories by all public-spirited members of society. The prevalent system of production not only caused this insecurity, but shows a tendency to increase it in the future in direct proportion to the ever-progressing perfection of the system itself. The alienation of the tools of production and raw materials necessary for production from the producer—the modern wage worker—resulted in the gradual but inevitable shifting of the point of gravity of production from the producer—the living, thinking and feeling laborer to his dead tools, to his dead raw materials and their legal possessor—the capitalist. Commodities or wares are produced not for consumption, but for gain and profit. The ethical moment in production, the satisfaction of human needs, is entirely lost sight of and economic anarchy reigns supreme. In the insane scramble for profit, human labor is degraded to the role of a mere commodity and subjected to all the indignities arising from the chaotic fluctuations of supply and demand.

The laborer divorced from his tools is compelled to beg the man having vested rights in these tools for a chance to work, to be graciously allowed to create a surplus value for one who has the tools in his possession, but does not labor. It is true, that the capitalist class cannot get along without the laboring class. Unfortunately, however, the laboring class does not present a solid front, as a social-economic unit to the organized force of its exploiters—the capitalists. The laboring class is rather split up into groups and individuals, not only not co-operating, but directly competing with each other for the privilege of selling their labor-power. The wage worker is thus worse off not only than the black slave and even the beast of burden, for whose sustenance, as an individual and a species of animals, their owner had to provide for paternally. The wage worker is even worse off than the tools he works with. If a machine is out of shape, it is not thrown

out, but carefully fixed or modernized. The machine costs money to its owner, the capitalist. The living appendage to the machinery, the wage worker, is not the product of a machine shop, but a child of Dame Nature, a son of man, and does not belong to the capitalist legally. The capitalist is not an idle dreamer, not a sentimentalist, but a business man, and from the point of view of gain and profit it would be the climax of folly to take care of a laborer (temporarily or permanently as the case may be) injured and disabled to work. Accidents, sickness, old age, do not exist for the lords of our modern machine production as far as laborers are concerned. The lords of modern machine production would fain prefer to have metallic automatons instead of frail human beings as appendages to their tools of production; giants of mechanical force with the subtle intelligence of a human being, but without the troublesome organs of the human frame, without stomach and heart; monsters silent like the grave, obedient like carefully trained beasts of burden, with no desire for freedom, no yearning for personal bliss and happiness. These automatons do not exist and may never be invented. The capitalists, however, manage to get along nicely without them. The labor market is constantly overflowing with young and vigorous recruits ready and willing to pitch in whenever and wherever an old soldier of the industrial army wavers, weakens and falls in the economic battle.

Accident, sickness and old age of wage workers are ignored by the captains of industry. Unfortunately, however, this ignoring is just as little effective in doing away with accidents, sickness and old age as Christian Science or Dowieism. Accidents will always happen, people will always grow old if they live long enough, and sickness will never be eradicated entirely from human life. Accidents and sickness ruin many a worker's family; old age finds many an honest, thrifty and industrious laborer in the poorhouse and the potter's field is saturated with proletarian flesh and blood.

Self-help is a beautiful principle for the strong, but a cruel mockery when preached by the strong exploiter to his victim. The average wage worker is not able to earn enough in his best years and in so-called good times to provide for many rainy days in the summer of his life and for the winter of life, his age of physical decline. The industrial proletariat in its present unorganized condition is not able to take care of its

own invalids. The few unsuccessful attempts on the part of mutual aid and sick benefit laborers' associations to cope with the problem prove our contention. Indeed, as long as the economic condition of the individual members of such organizations is insecure—there can be no talk about the security of the institution itself.

Who shall then take the burden of providing for the invalids of the industrial army of the proletariat? Society at large represented by the state in general, and the capitalist class in particular. The wage worker gives to society at large and the capitalist in particular his best powers, he wastes the strength of his muscles and the energy of his nerves in his endeavor to create the commodities necessary for the life and happiness of all members of society. But when the strength of his muscles is becoming exhausted, when the energy of his nervous system is over-strained in the service of society he is turned into an object of frigid and bitter charity. How different is the fate of a private of the industrial army trained in the peaceful and useful arts of creating things necessary for life and its enjoyment, from that of a soldier trained in the craft of wholesale murder and destruction called war. The Cain of militarism is the beloved son of our Christian civilization, while the Abel of peaceful and useful arts is treated as a slave.

The usual objection raised by the Philistines of our time against any measure tending to the protection of the proletariat is his (the Philistines) aversion to paternalism and his fear of the ghost of state Socialism. Curiously enough the Philistine has no objection against paternalism and state Socialism, when legislation in favor of the ruling classes is the object of discussion. The Philistine does not see either paternalism or state Socialism in the protection by the state of such lusty infants of industry as the giant steel trust or sugar-trust babies or poverty-stricken railroad corporations.

The Socialists of America, the champions of the proletariat, must demand justice for the invalids of the proletariat. They must demand that the state should include in its functions, the creation of institutions, providing for the sick and invalids of the laboring class, just as it provides for its soldiers. In all European countries, including even little Roumania and the colossus of Russia, there is a system of legislation creating protection for the victims of accidents during

work, to the sick laborers and to invalids of labor. Germany, owing to the influence of the strong Social Democratic party, has gone farther in that direction than any other country and provided an insurance for laborers even in case of protracted inability to work in consequence of an accident or sickness. It is impossible to present here an approximate idea of the magnitude of the work done in Europe in that direction within the limits of one article. It will suffice to present here brief statistical data concerning Germany. In 1893 there were legalized 21,226 benefit institutions with 7,106,804 insured; 2,794,027 persons benefited during 46,199,436 days of sickness. The expenditure amounted to 126,018,810 marks, while the total income reached 83,811,959 marks. In 1894 there were 18,060,000 persons insured against accidents; 266,400 accidents were adjusted. The old age pension benefited in 1894 11,510,000; insured, 295,200. The forty institutions had an income of 109,580,000 marks, an expenditure of 25,560,000 marks. Their capital amounted to 329,500,000 marks. The sum furnished to it by the state amounted to 13,920,000 marks. Each member of the sick benefit associations is entitled in Germany to free medical attendance and medicine and likewise to spectacles, crutches and similar things in case of need. Beginning with the third day a sick benefit is paid out at the rate of one-half of the wages received by the patient. A death benefit amounting to a sum equal to twenty times the wages earned by the deceased is provided in compulsory associations. Accident insurance is provided for every insured person, irrespective of consideration as to the party to be blamed for the accident. This provision eliminates costly and protracted litigation. The authority, Maurice Black, points out in his book, *Les Assurances ouvrières en Allemagne*, Paris, 1894, that the field of charity contracts with the extension of labor insurance and old age pensions.

XXXIII. BUILDING OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

Evolution consists mainly in progressive organization and co-ordination of forces. The degree of complexity of an organism is an indication of its place on the evolutionary ladder. The more complex the higher it stands. Organization and co-ordination are the most economic modes of utilizing natural forces. Indeed the higher a plant or animal is from the evolutionary point of view, the more minute and thorough is the division of labor among its various organs, the greater their mutual interdependence, the more specialized their functions.

This is equally true in respect to the organization called human society. The more advanced a social organization is the more minute and thorough must be the division of labor among its members, the more specialized their functions. A striking illustration of the fact is furnished by the industrial system of production of modern society, as compared with that of primitive societies of savages or semi-barbarians. The advantages of co-ordination of the results of division of labor and its specialization for any kind of social activity are obvious. The armies of all civilized nations are managed strictly in accordance with that method. But even in the field of mind activity, as, for instance, in natural sciences, division of labor or specialization goes hand in hand with co-ordination or generalization. A Charles Darwin presupposes a host of well-trained specialists diligently pursuing minute investigations observations and experiments in their particular field of knowledge. The origin of castes, classes and other social subdivisions is traceable to the ever-increasing division and specialization of social labor from time immemorial to our day.

On these facts of social evolution Socialist thinkers build their system of society. Socialism represents a conscious endeavor so to organize and co-ordinate the forces inherent in society as to attain the highest possible physical and spiritual welfare of the greatest possible number of its members. Socialists are conscious evolutionists. Lester Ward says: "Society, which is the highest product of evolution, naturally depends upon mind, which is the highest property of matter." The same authority defines the aim of dynamic sociology

as "the organization of happiness," and claims that: "The dynamic department of psychology becomes also that of sociology the moment we rise from the individual to society." Human mind must modify and direct the evolutionary powers of society in order to "organize happiness."

Socialist writers devote a great deal of their attention to purely economic problems. There are, however quite a few fields of social activity not elucidated sufficiently from the Socialistic point of view. One of these is the general technical understructure of Socialism and the administration of public affairs in particular. In European countries the administrative functions rest on the broad shoulders of a special class—the bureaucracy. In the United States we have for that purpose a host of public officials. The European bureaucracy is (with the exception of Russia) competent, but meddlesome. The officialdom of the United States is notorious for its incompetence and corruption, due to the debasing system of rotation of office, founded on the principle "to the victor belongs the spoils." The so-called civil service reform has only recently been introduced in a half-hearted, fragmentary and crude manner. Indeed, the two old parties exist only for all there is in politics—i. e., for the spoils, and it would be rather too sanguine to expect from them the introduction of an honest and able measure doing away with the political spoils, the very sub-stratum on which they live.

The fundamental principle of civil service reform—that the public is entitled to the best services of the best men in the community—is, however, sound and entirely in accord with Socialistic ideas about the administration of all public affairs by specialists, educated and trained for that purpose in special schools. The state maintains special schools for the purpose of providing the army and navy with competent officers. Why should not the state do the same for the civil department of administration? Society is certainly more benefited by the peaceful civic activity of its administration than by the development of the destructive arts of war. It is true that as long as the capitalistic state of society exists the Socialistic ideal of administration of public affairs by specialists cannot be realized in all its perfection and purity. In the first instance, the capitalistic state will only occasionally attract to public service some of the best members of society. The danger of an hereditary cast of officials fostered by the

state can be entirely eliminated only in a perfect Social Democracy. Besides this, only a perfect Social Democracy will present a real equality of opportunities to all its citizens to choose and prepare themselves for any kind of social activity. These and similar considerations, however, ought not to deter Socialists from the support of the civil service reform, even in its present mutilated and embryonic shape, on account of its principle.

Advanced Socialist thinkers do not expect any sudden transformation of the present capitalistic state of society into a co-operative commonwealth by the means of a popular revolt or in consequence of a general economic collapse. They do not unduly idealize the proletariat as a creative social factor ready to perform miracles of constructive work when given a fair chance after a violent social upheaval. History does not warrant such an idealization. History does not support the faith of the Socialists of the old school that capitalism is bound to work out, mechanically, so to speak, its own destruction and then be replaced automatically by Socialism, even in case no conscientious and conscious endeavor to work in that direction exists on the part of the members of society. History abounds rather in examples of civilization of thousands of years' standing that crumbled like dust and were replaced by barbarism under the stress of social-economic incongruities. Socialism may save our modern civilization from such a fate if consciously inoculated and diligently reared in the midst of the Capitalistic society, but not otherwise. The transformation of the capitalistic state into a Socialistic one can be brought about more or less gradually. Socialism must grow, so to speak, into our present society and permeate its entire system until it absorbs and transforms it into the new order.

Such a conception of the process of the socialization of society does not leave any space, either to optimistic fatalism, or, to use a Utopian phrase—revolutionism, but is conducive to untiring immediate work for a gradual realization of the Socialistic ideal. Neither complacent dreams about the future millennium, nor empty phraseology or revolutionary cant can be of any avail to the advanced Socialist conscious of the magnitude and scope of the task before him and of the grave responsibilities connected with it. We have to start the realization of our ideals, as far as our powers reach, in our own time

in our present social environment. If we do not succeed in accomplishing much, we will at least lay the foundation on which future generations will build the magnificent structure of Socialistic society.

Fanatics and revolutionary phrase-mongers may look idly on our endeavor and soothe their ill-humor by sneering at us as "reformers" engaged in patch-work. They may brag about their uncompromising attitude toward the present society. Our work and the results of our work will be our vindication.

XXXIV. INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIAT.

Can there be a more pathetic sight than that of a sick infant in its utter helplessness and abandon? It feels acutely the intense pain without having the slightest idea about its origin, causes and nature, without being able to relieve the nervous strain by articulated, intelligent speech. The task of physicians treating infants is therefore of a higher order and their responsibilities of a graver nature than those of a general practitioner. An infant's physician must diagnose the sickness on the foundation of his own observation and studies and adopt a method of treatment according to his own conclusions.

The broad masses of the people may be aptly compared with an overgrown infant. Indeed, the masses are conscious of the social-economic diseases of the time as far as they feel their painful results. This consciousness is, however, of a rather vague character and does not extend to an intelligent conception of the origin, causes and nature of the diseases and the ways and means of their elimination. At times when the social-economic diseases of an epoch reach their climax and the pain inflicted by them appears insufferable, the infant-people loses its angelic patience. The long suppressed forces of resistance to social wrong find their vent in a purely elementary stroke at some object that happens to concentrate on itself the hatred of the masses. This object may be a Bastille or a king's head. Once, however, the fury of the people's wrath has spent itself the masses of the people relapse into the customary spiritual apathy and mental lethargy. The powers for evil once more reign supreme.

Fortunately there is a class of people in all the civilized countries of the world that are able and willing to cope with the difficult task and grave responsibilities of physicians of social-economic diseases of their time. This class is called the class of intellectuals. The intellectuals impart rational consciousness to the blind social forces and try to direct them in certain channels of usefulness. The intellectuals represent the brain and heart of the people, the reason and conscience of their generation, the mind of their country. The intellectuals incorporate and preserve in their sanctuary the noblest ideals and highest aspirations of the human race. In the

days gone by the intellectuals rarely belonged themselves to the broad masses of the people, to the oppressed and disinherited lower classes. If they identified themselves with the interest of the popular masses it was done by them out of considerations of a higher order than mere sordid selfishness. It was the deep consciousness of the highest interests of the race as a unit.

What is likely to be the part enacted by the intellectuals in the modern social-economic struggle of the proletariat against the encroachments of the exploiting upper classes? is the question that must interest every thoughtful student of our times. Whatever our answer may be, there is no doubt that the intellectuals of the modern ages have a stronger motive to work in the interest of the proletariat than the intellectuals of preceding historical epochs. The Socialists of the old school may still insist on overalls and tin pails as necessary insignia of a true proletarian. Some middle class optimists may still fondly cling to the legend about the self-made man. These narrow ideas and antiquated notions of people, that neither forget nor learn anything, are doomed to disappear under the pressure of events. The mills of the tin gods of capitalism grind a great deal faster and finer than the old-fashioned mills of the ancient dieties of Olympus used to do. The intellectual worker is turned into an insignificant appendix of the soulless giant corporations of manufacture, trade and commerce, just as fast and thorough as the ordinary unsophisticated proletarian is transformed into an appendix of the dead tool of production, the machine.

The same social-economic conditions that created the industrial wage-slave system gave birth to the intellectual proletariat. That the last must feel more in touch with the modern proletariat class as a whole, that it must be endowed with a deeper sympathy with the suffering of the masses, that it must fight with greater ardour for the cause of the emancipation of labor from capital than was the case with the intellectuals of other historical epochs appears obvious. Indeed the intellectual of other times was at best a benevolent stranger to the people, while the intellectual modern proletarian is one of the people himself and cannot help suffering and feeling with the people. The advantages to be derived

from such an intimate relation between the proletariat and the class of brain workers are bound to prove themselves in the near future. Capitalism is itself cementing the union between the different wings of the proletariat class. The clerk, the teacher, the physician, the engineer, the chemist, the lawyer and other professional men feel more and more the growing economic insecurity of their occupations, due to the economic insecurity of the actual producer, the industrial laborer and the farmer. There seems to be an overproduction or underconsumption of professional men in the same measure as there is an excess of supply of labor of all kind. The reserve army of proletarians includes professors, teachers, physicians, chemists and other members of the liberal professions. Our present society teems with people able and anxious to be useful to society, but finding no employment, while there exists a great need everywhere of men anxious and capable of working. The anarchy of our social-economic system is the cause of this, as of many other incongruities and absurdities that cannot fail to engage the attention of our intellectual proletariat and impart a powerful impetus to critical thought and prompt action. Indeed the press, the pulpit, the representatives of science are diligently discussing the most striking phenomena of our social-economic system, such as the trusts, disturbances of the labor market, board of trade manipulations, in a spirit of frank desire to arrive at the truth, that is very encouraging to the advocates of conscious social evolution. The social-economic diseases of our time approach their climax, the afflictions of the broad masses of the people are becoming insufferable and the intellectuals are preparing themselves to perform their historical mission as leaders in the righteous struggle for justice and right in human inter-relations.

XXXV. ON THE EVE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

A VISION.

Sub Specie Aeternitatis.

I dreamed I was once more in exile in the Arctic region watching the dark blue starry skies at night. I saw nearly in the center of the northern part of the horizon a deep dark segment, so dark and menacing that feeling of awe and terror crept unawares over me. Strangely enough, the segment, glaring like a bottomless abyss under the feet of a daring mountain climber and ready to swallow him at any moment, not only did not repel me, but rather attracted all my attention with an unexplainable fascination. Gray clouds of indistinct, perpetually changing shape and outlines were slowly creeping forward and backward over the black abyss like shadows of dethroned ancient deities. At times the shadow broadened, glimmered with phosphorescent flames, covering, like a huge fantastic curtain, a considerable part of the horizon and then vanished at once, leaving behind the same dense Egyptian darkness. The gigantic shadow then reappeared, took more distinct shape and outlines, more intense colors; green, blue, red—all the shades and hues of the rainbow in the most unexpected, but always harmonious combinations.

It was a chaotic vision, a series of perpetually changing magnificent pictures. At times a part, at times the whole horizon, at times the starry heavens and the snowbound sea, and even the intensely cold atmosphere appeared in flames, as if all the volcanoes of the globe were thrown into a state of the most violent eruption. The waves of the ocean of colored flames seemed to menace everything and everybody on earth. And not a sound, even the faintest, could be heard. I looked and waited and wondered. A crushing feeling of my human nothingness overwhelmed me. I felt like shutting my eyes, dazzled and tired out by the vision, when suddenly a divine being approached before me, as if borne by the waves of the irresistible flood of flaming air. It would be futile and sacrilegious at the same time, on my part to attempt to describe the heavenly apparition—so celestially beautiful and radiant and yet so humanly plain and simple. I felt more happy,

calm and hopeful than ever in my life before or since. So much goodness, so much sweetness and sublime simplicity radiated from the childlike, womanly countenance of the goddess, that I felt at that moment with all the fibres of my body, with all the powers of my soul, that I was in the presence of a divine being, and all the dross of everyday drudgery, cares, fears and anxiety, melted away, leaving behind the pure gold of an exalted human existence.

The goddess touched me with the flaming torch carried in her left hand. She spoke, and her voice sounded like the murmur of flowers caressed by the spring zephyr: "Follow me" she said. "I am the future of the human race.

I had no will but hers, and obeyed silently and joyfully, like a child, the command of a well-beloved mother. The earth at once lost the power of attraction for my body and soul, and I felt lifted to heights unspeakable. I lost all idea about space and time.

Born, wither and how long, I know not, we came to a prison, located in the very midst of a primeval forest of Siberia. A prematurely aged man with remarkably noble and intelligent features whose hands and feet were chained to the slimy wall slept on a wooden bench swarming with the most abominable vermin. Fearful phantasma seemed to disturb the prisoner's rest. The goddess touched him with her torch. The prisoner did not rise, but a happy smile for a moment rejuvenated the careworn face of the martyr.

"It is new year, the first of a new century. You know me. I am come to console you," said the goddess.

"To console me?" bitterly retorted the unfortunate in a faint, broken voice, once so musical and magnetic. "Do not trouble yourself about me! You had no more devoted servants than I. I sacrificed my lifelihood to the cause of humanity, and here I am, a slave of slaves, a broken vessel! Go to the mighty of the earth, to the kings, emperors and czars!" He then turned away his face to the slimy wall inconsolable in his great affliction.

An indescribable sadness over-shadowed the divine features of the goddess and we departed. Again we floated silently through the space till we stopped before a small frame building and entered a room filled with books, manuscripts, maps and philosophical instruments. A venerable sage was dream-

ing in his oldfashioned chair. The goddess touched him with her torch and repeated her greeting.

"A new century, indeed! What a mighty consolation!" answered the sage sarcastically. "My whole life has been spent in the search of truth. I opened new vistas of thought, made many discoveries and inventions? What of it? Did all this improve the conditions, lighten the burden of the poor, the downtrodden, the disinherited part of the human race? Go to the priests, to the successful captains of industry, to the professional politicians." Again sadness darkened the face of the goddess and we departed. We then entered the splendid palace of a mighty ruler—the Czar of Russia. Surrounded by almost inhuman luxury and treated like a demigod, he dreamed on his gorgeous throne. The deity did not touch him with her torch, and he took no heed of us. His wife and child came in and congratulated him on the advent of the new year, a new century. The ruler of hundreds of millions of subjects did not seem to be happy and contented. "I wish I could be a poor peasant," said he to his wife. The burden of my crown is too heavy for my head. I am the least free of all my subjects, and my rule is, after all, only nominal. I do not and cannot know and ascertain the real needs of my people, and even if I would and could I should be powerless to accomplish any real good. I am the servant of my advisors and cannot make one step independently. I am surrounded by people I cannot trust and must be ready any moment to meet a violent death. The future does not belong to us so called mighty rulers. Our days have passed. O for the humble lot of the poorest of my subjects!"

Not less surprising was our experience in the palace of one of the richest men on earth. "Do not congratulate me with new years and centuries," said he to his intimate friends. "The future does not belong to us, financial kings. Our days are passing never to return again. And I really am not quite certain if there is any cause to lament it. Frankly speaking, my life was a failure as far as real human happiness is concerned. I exhausted all my energies in amassing fabulous wealth. At first I enjoyed success, but soon got used to it and looked upon it as a matter of course. I had no time to enjoy life in my young years and lost the capacity for enjoyment in my declining age. My friends are few, while my enemies' name is legion; and my conscience bothers me some-

times more than I care to confess. I did, alas! many a thing in my career I would give my life now to be undone. O! for the humble lot of one of the humblest of my employes! My wealth becomes more and more burdensome to me, it crushes me with every hour."

We next visited the pope of Rome. He at once recognized the goddess, but did not seem to be especially edified by her arrival. "I do not see any reason to rejoice in the advent of the new century. As a representative of one of the strongest dogmatic religions I have to confess, that our days have passed and the future does not belong to us churchmen. The old dogmatic creeds are decaying fast. And what replaces them?"

Again, we soared through space till we stopped in the midst of one of the largest cities of the United States. A mighty throng of listeners was gathered around a speaker. He was a young carpenter, unusually handsome, and his striking appearance was enhanced by a half mystical, but wholly self-reliant radiance of mien, showing a firm faith and deep absorption in his theme. His voice was remarkably clear, strong and winning. The audience was spell-bound and thoroughly in touch with the magnetic personality of the speaker. He spoke with unsurpassed eloquence about the prospects of the new century and compared it with the passed. The nineteenth century was the epoch of unchecked individualism, selfishness and pessimism, of purely negative ideas, of destruction of old institutions without building new ones to replace them, of religious hypocrisy and general moral cowardice. The speaker hailed in glowing words the twentieth century as the dawn of a new era of race consciousness instead of class-consciousness and individualism, altruism instead of selfishness and optimism instead of pessimism. Positive ideas as a basis for the entire reconstruction of anachronistic social institutions, ideals of true human brotherhood and perfect solidarity of interests will replace the old fetishes of so-called sovereign personality. There was no trace of declamation or mannerism to be noted in the speaker. He appealed not only to the reason, but to the innermost hearts of his listeners, to the holy of holies of the human soul. And there was not one man or woman so hardened and soiled by the meanness of life who were not touched and ennobled for the time being. The divine spark feebly glowing under the heaps of moral, or rather immoral, rubbish even in the most

depraved human being was blown into flames and the enthusiasm of the audience was great. Indeed, before their spiritual eyes were enrolled vistas of thought and sentiments, of the existence of which they never dreamed, motives of action were pointed out, about which they never before had heard. But, above all, they were made to feel for the first time in their barren lives the deep sacredness, the high dignity and the true significance of human relations. He preached the gospel of humanity turned divine, of humanity identified with divinity, of the total renunciation of the personality in the interests of the race—this sublime unity with a past, full of mysterious charm and a future too glorious to be imagined by us. The longer he spoke the higher ran the enthusiasm of his enchanted listeners, the more their numbers grew. Every word of the new prophet of Raceism was wired by special reporters to all the nooks and corners of the globe and aroused everywhere the same enthusiasm, kindled the same religious ardor, implanted the same ideals and aspirations. For the first time in the history of the world all humanity was united in one all-absorbing thought—its perfect solidarity as a race.

Again we soared through space till we arrived at Paris to the world's congress of nations assembled with the purpose to inaugurate eternal peace on earth and good will to men, to devise new social and economic institutions on the basis of reason and equity, to do away forever with exploitation of men by men, of one class by another in any shape or manner, to inaugurate real economic freedom and social equality, to proclaim the religion of divine humanity. The world's history never witnessed deliberations so profound in their nature, so broad in their scope, so deep in their significance. So enthused was I by the sight of the world's congress of nations, that I ventured to say a few words myself, but at that moment I awoke and the vision vanished.

The sun was still under the horizon, but its light messengers, the rosy Aurora, spread like a heap of sheaves upward into the deep azure of the starry sky. The East glowed in a sea of molten gold, silver and rubies. The upper rim of the sun appeared over the horizon, blending the joyous spectators with its fiery light and inaugurating the glorious dawn of the twentieth century, the century of Socialism.





